

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

BER 1952

VOLUME XLI, NO. 9

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# The National Municipal Review

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# NEWS for League Members

## How to Make Touchdowns

"Goals and Touchdowns" is the title of a brief talk that National Municipal League President Henry Bruère will give at the annual dinner, the Tuesday night feature of the three-day National Conference on Government in San Antonio, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, November 17, 18 and 19. Mr. Bruère's talk will deal with the way in which the League in its 58 years has set goals and coached good people in thousands of communi-

ties to win touchdowns for better government and more effective citizenship. In 25 separate Conference sessions, more than two hundred speakers and discussants, with the help of active members of the audience, will be busy establishing civic goals for tomorrow and hammering out strategy for attaining them.

While the working meetings will begin at 9.15 Monday morning, the Conference will be formally welcomed to town and officially opened at luncheon with a speech by Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs of The Ford Motor Company.

Mr. Reid's speech, "Good Government, Good Business," will be a curtain raiser for an afternoon session in which about eight business leaders will discuss the responsibilities and problems of the Businessman as Citizen." In a

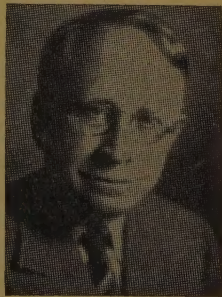
similar session Tuesday afternoon, a group of women will review and evaluate their experience in various public offices and civic posts.

The stories of some of the most noteworthy civic touchdowns of 1952 will be presented to the All-America Cities jury, headed by George Gallup, in afternoon sittings Monday and Tuesday. Among the jurors will be Henry Bruère, president of the National Municipal League; Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey; Mrs. Hiram Houghton, former president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Harold S. Battenheim, editor, *The American City*; Mark S. Matthews, former president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Roy V. Peel, director, Bureau of the Census; Anna Lord Strauss, former president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan. Applications for permission to make presentations to the jury already filed with the Eligibility Committee indicate a nationwide interest in the recognition that membership on the All-America team of cities brings to a community.

Featured speakers at other general sessions include Howard Chase, public relations consultant, former director of  
(Continued on next page)



Charles Edison



Thomas H. Reed



# Childs' Book Tells of Civic Struggles

A new book entitled *Civic Victories; the Story of an Unfinished Revolution* by Richard S. Childs, civic leader and political philosopher, is scheduled for issue November 10 by Harper & Brothers.

In the opinion of W. B. Munro, pioneer professor of municipal government and author of numerous textbooks, who read the galley proofs, "no better history of civic progress during the past four or five decades has been written than this one, nor is one likely to be."

Few men, if any, have had or, better, taken the opportunity to know the intimate secrets of the notable civic battles and significant civic progress of the first half of the twentieth century. Hand in hand with his career as an industrialist, Mr. Childs has always been a busy and effective innovator of mechanistic corrections of civic tools to enable the voter to master his task and responsibilities and to free him from domination by selfish political "leadership."

His most notable contributions to progress are generally considered to be his origination of the council-manager form of government, which is now in effect in more than 1,100 places, and of the short ballot movement.

*Civic Victories* sets forth his basic philosophy of how to "make democracy democ" and covers in sprightly, readable fashion, the significant victories and defeats since 1910.

One of the most active lay leaders of the National Municipal League since he engineered a rebirth of the organization three decades ago and lured it from

Philadelphia to New York, Mr. Childs was formerly president and is now chairman of the executive committee.

Five years ago he retired from the American Cyanamid Company to become an unpaid member of the League's staff, a vocation he would have preferred to business.

"I've wasted a lot of years making money," he has confided to friends. "This is more fun than anything."

## HOW TO MAKE TOUCHDOWNS

(Continued from previous page)

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Richard S. Childs, during his summer vacation trip to Europe, reading proofs of his forthcoming book and, with typical passion for efficiency, catching sunshine and relaxation beside the Grand Canal in Venice.



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## Editorial Comment

### A City Manager for New York?

**T**HE Citizens Union, enlightened and effective civic organization, has, with its customary quiet courage, startled politicians and experts alike by setting up a committee to determine whether and how the council-manager form of government can be adapted to the world's largest city, New York.

It is startling to the politicians for obvious reasons, to others because some political scientists are fond of saying, on the basis of theory rather than factual evidence, that of course the plan that has wrought miracles in so many other places could not possibly work in a really big city.

This is like saying a small business must be logically organized and efficiently managed but a big business can be run any old way, picking the president in a popularity contest and hiring help on the basis of friendship or nepotism.

Before and after the committee was named, newspapers and others complained about the obvious lack of top management of the city's affairs. A leading business man in a public speech said "administration of the city of New York doesn't exist."

A career man in the city's government, keenly analyzing the situation, commented:

From his first day in office, the mayor is overwhelmed with a multiplicity of duties and responsibilities. They fall generally into three categories:

1. Ceremonial-social,
2. Policy formulation and adoption,

#### 3. Administration.

Demands within the first category alone easily can and often do so fill his waking hours and are so exhausting that he has little time left and very little energy, mental or physical, to devote to the two remaining categories, which of course embrace all the really worthwhile work we may expect from anyone occupying the office. A great many of these ceremonial activities are inescapable and many more seem to the mayor to be so because, quite naturally, he wishes to sustain the popular personal appeal which may have elected him over others with less such appeal.

If he wishes to continue in office, he is likely to select as his most important assistants persons who are mainly interested in helping him realize that wish and they consequently arrange his schedule for weeks in advance with that almost solely in mind. It is a common complaint of department heads that the mayor's engagement book is so filled with these commitments that they seldom see him for even a fleeting moment (startling emergencies excepted) unless they are able to arrange identical outside engagements.

This is the gentlest way of saying that a mayor tends to choose patronage dispensers as deputy mayor and as administrative assistants. On several rare occasions, when mayors have appointed competent administrators, such men have been used to handle inconsequential detail rather than administrative problems.

In other words, the mayor of New York is now a "ceremonial mayor" such as is provided in the council-manager form of government. Relieving him of the pressures of administration, which he largely ignores



anyway, and of the importunings of favor seekers would leave him free to do what he likes and does best.

The current mayor never administered anything before he was chosen to handle about a hundred departments with a couple of hundred thousand employees. His predecessor had a spectacular career from immigrant boy to mayor but, likewise, never administered anything much, which may not have been the reason he decided to change to a brief career as ambassador to Mexico.

The chief fear is that the people, victims of the trickery of powerful political machines, would not be able to elect a city council that could be trusted to appoint an adequate

city manager. Perhaps the fact that the city council has no real powers has had something to do with the voters' lack of discrimination in the kind of people they put into it. They did quite well, however, when the proportional representation method of election was used. Since the politicians of both major parties ganged up to kill P. R., controls have been transferred from city hall back to the clubhouse, which would be ruinous to the council-manager plan.

First step must be to find a way to elect a competent, responsible and representative city council; representative of the voters rather than the party leaders, that is.

---

### A Plank for All Candidates

IT IS not necessary to pass final judgment either on Senator Nixon's private political expense fund or on Governor Stevenson's fund to supplement salaries of key state officials to be definite on one all-important fact: the people generally are badly confused.

Nothing could have better demonstrated the critical importance of ethical questions in a democracy. The issues will certainly not be appreciably cleared in the heat of the campaign but it should be possible for all concerned to come together on one plank. That plank, laid down some months ago by the Douglas Committee, calls for establishment of a commission on ethics in government.

Both candidates for president might well agree that after election

they will cooperate, winner and loser alike, in seeing to it that a commission of citizens of unimpeachable integrity, broadly representative of the American people, is set up to explore the whole complex field of ethics, as well as simple morality, in government and politics. Its mission should not be confined to federal government and elections. In fact, it should begin in the home town and precinct, whence all politicians and civil servants come.<sup>1</sup> It should also explore fearlessly the other side of the coin, the ethical climate in which government operates, including especially the behavior of interest groups and citizens in dealing with government and seeking to influence its agents.

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<sup>1</sup>See "Ethics in Local Government," page 438, this issue.

# Ethics in Local Government

*Arlington County, Virginia, looks for 'practicable ways of sustaining a high standard of official conduct.'*

By FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX\*

**R**OBERT W. COX, youthful-looking chairman of the county board, felt paternal pride as he handed to the press copies of the document.

"I understand," he declared, "that no other similar body has ever been organized in this country to delve into the subject of public ethics."

The body he referred to was the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government,<sup>1</sup> appointed June 30, 1951, by the County Board of Arlington County, Virginia, to prepare a code of ethics and to consider "additional practicable ways of sustaining a high standard of official conduct." The document glanced over by the newspapermen with professional detachment was the Commission's report, together with a

proposed Code of Public Ethics and further recommendations. Cox, then a newcomer to the board, had introduced the resolution by which the Commission was established.

County government in the United States has not had a reputation for pioneering. Perhaps the first question to be answered is how it came about that the initiative in this matter was seized by a county government. One answer is, of course, that there are great differences in vitality and inventiveness between different counties, which often but not always are explained by differences in resources. More specifically, while Arlington is a county in name, it is in fact an urban community of some 150,000 people, who are described in a recent report of the County Planning Commission as generally well educated and blessed with a stable income. It is only the unresolved doubts about the pros and cons of incorporation that still stand between Arlington and its designation as a city.

How does a local government get into a project of public morality beyond such problems as what to do about prostitution? Ethics, after all, is a pretty obscure subject to most people who think of themselves as practical-minded. And ethics in government is probably the more obscure side of the subject. To be sure, some smoke has risen recently in various parts of the country from

\*The author, staff assistant in the Director's Office of the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, and adjunct professor of political science at American University, served as chairman of the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government of Arlington County, Virginia.

<sup>1</sup>In addition to the author, members of the commission were Frank L. Ball, attorney and former member of the Senate of Virginia; John J. Corson, head of the Washington office of McKinsey and Company, management consultants, previously an executive in the federal government and with the *Washington Post*; Hon. Chan Gurney, member of the Civil Aeronautics Board and formerly United States senator from South Dakota; and Rev. Paul R. Hunter, pastor of the Rock Spring Congregational Church in Arlington. The commission submitted its report August 15, 1952.



little understandings about  
mink coats, deep freezes and related  
matters. But the political capital  
made of these things might indicate  
that as a nation we are today more  
rather than less fastidious in the  
appraisal of official conduct than we  
used to be.

The conclusion finds added evi-  
dence in the background of Arling-  
ton's Citizens Commission on Ethics  
in Government. There had been no  
searing scandal. There had been no  
wholesale pilfering. There had been  
no overreaching gesture of boss rule.  
Arlington had kept its skirt rather  
dainty. It enjoyed an active civic  
life. On its county board of five  
members, a majority of three repre-  
sented the nonpartisan voters dedi-  
cated to the cause of good govern-  
ment.

One thing that did happen, how-  
ever, was a surprise trial for mal-  
feasance of two board members early  
in 1951. One of these was a leader  
of the nonpartisan voters, having  
just been returned for a second term  
by a strong vote. The other was  
tagged with the label of the political  
party that had long been in control.  
The locally elected commonwealth  
attorney in charge of preparing the  
prosecution was of the same political  
party, which was sharply antago-  
nistic to the new majority on the  
county board. According to rumor  
current at the time, the motive be-  
hind the trial was to wreck a key  
figure in the nonpartisan camp, to  
be concealed by the simultaneous  
onslaught upon a minority member  
who was being put on the skids by  
his own party (and who actually

was defeated for reelection later in  
the year).

Both board members were acquit-  
ted. But some of the testimony  
presented during the trial about the  
private doings of some officials left  
a less than agreeable odor in the  
nostrils of many citizens. These do-  
ings involved relatively small things,  
it is true. Yet errors of ethical judg-  
ment appeared as bad in small things  
as they would have in big ones.

#### Commission's Procedure

Board member Cox considered the  
selection of the membership of the  
Citizens Commission on Ethics in  
Government a matter of prime im-  
portance. Attention was paid to di-  
versity and balance of experience  
on the one side and to political  
equilibrium on the other. The re-  
sult was a body combining compe-  
tence and impartiality of approach.  
In recognition of the independence  
of the Commission, its members were  
left free to pick the chairman.

At the outset, the Commission de-  
cided to enrich its deliberations by  
taking counsel with both officials and  
community leaders. A series of  
public meetings was scheduled over  
a number of months. To each of  
these meetings the Commission in-  
vited from three to five individuals  
as its special consultants.

Some of the consultants were in  
the expert category, like Kathryn H.  
Stone, close student of local govern-  
ment in theory and practice, and  
Rowland Egger, for many years at  
the helm of the Bureau of Public  
Administration at the University of  
Virginia and more recently one of

the guiding spirits of Public Administration Clearing House. Other consultants were elected and appointed officials, including the chairmen of the county board and the school board, the county manager, the superintendent of schools, and heads of some of the county departments. Invitations also went to representatives of the county employees, such as the chairman of the Employees Advisory Council, and the chairman of the ethics committee of the elected Teachers Council of Instruction.

On the side of the larger public, the Commission called upon the knowledge of local party officials, representatives of economic and professional bodies, spokesmen of the churches, and officers of citizen organizations, like the Arlington Civic Federation, League of Women Voters, County Council of Parent-Teacher Associations and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some of these bodies played dead, as did the Chamber of Commerce. But most proved ready to help. In this way the Commission not only learned much about the attitudes of the community but also encouraged the citizenry to come to grips with the complex problems of public ethics. When the time came to formulate its recommendations, the Commission felt it had well-nigh saturated itself with the thinking of the community.

But because this thinking was less than clear, saturation with it did not relieve the Commission of searching for its way through the thicket. In plotting its course, the Commission established as its main premises

three propositions. First, in a free society no individual, no group and no agency of government has a moral claim to erect a monopoly of values and hence of ethics; such a monopoly would be the graveyard of freedom. Second, in public ethics no less than in private ethics it is the individual's responsible moral judgment that must serve as the compass of decision; this judgment should not be displaced by a submissive acceptance of how most other people act. And third, in the absence of a single authoritative source of public ethics, a "code" of official morality should seek to inform individual judgment and thus strengthen it, rather than insist on unflinching obedience to a thousand special rules.

#### **Ethical Guidelines**

The unanimous report of the Commission deals with the origin, authority and working approach of the Commission, the community's attitude toward it, the difficulty of the task, the assumptions of the proposed Code of Public Ethics and the need for a widespread concern with the moral foundations of public life. The attachments include the resolution by which the Commission was established, a list of invited consultants, the Code of Public Ethics and the Commission's additional recommendations. The last two attachments are each of about the same size as the report itself.

On the community's attitude, the Commission concluded that Arlington "regarded public ethics as something rather important in a general way but found it hard to work up a



real interest in the subject." Arlington was apparently willing to see "what a Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government might come out with at the end but pretty much assumed that the outcome would be more like a mouse than a mountain."

In its own perspective, the Commission was far from claiming magic effects for a code of official conduct. It did stress the value of such a code within certain bounds. Said the Commission: "No code of public ethics, by itself, can drive selfishness from public office. No code can make devoted public servants out of crooks. No code can be effective when it makes demands that most people fail to honor in their own conduct. Despite these limitations, however, a code like this can do several useful things. It can draw attention to the importance of public ethics. It can restrain those who reap personal gain by ignoring public ethics. It can, above all, increase the influence of the large majority of people to whom a high standard of official conduct is a self-evident necessity."

Instead of presuming to have "the last word for each decision to be reached," the Code of Public Ethics "sets forth general guidelines as a means of reaching ethically sound decisions." The guidelines point out, for example, that each official action must be put to the "threefold test of efficiency, legality and morality" by all those participating in the decision; that the ethically relevant facts behind the decision are "public property" and subject to disclosure; that all officials should make it

known what their personal position is on the "resolution of conflicts between narrower loyalties and the fundamental loyalty to the community as a whole" which flows from the purpose of public office; and that a high standard of official conduct cannot endure "unless it is bolstered in the daily work performed on all levels of public responsibility."

Additional guidelines are presented for elective officials, for appointive officials, for county employees and for teachers. With respect to electoral contests, the code indicates the close connection between the ethics of office-seeking and the ethics of office-holding. Candidates are reminded that responsible campaigning includes the assumption of personal control on their part over what is being done in their behalf. They should also make their sources of financial support a matter of public knowledge.

On the administrative side, the code elaborates the obligations of effective public service. Space does not permit here to go into particulars.<sup>2</sup>

#### Additional Recommendations

The Code of Public Ethics is followed by the Commission's additional recommendations. These are "so stated as to underscore principal points, without getting into the mass of technical details that have to be sifted and thought through when it comes to designing specific solu-

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<sup>2</sup>For these the reader is referred to the October issue of *Public Management*, International City Managers' Association, Chicago.

tions." Some of the recommendations require action by the state legislature, for instance those for strengthening the safeguards against corrupt election practices, providing public information about the use of money in campaigns, outlawing anonymous political literature, overhauling the grand jury system and separating public office from private profit. Other recommendations can be acted upon immediately by local authorities. These cover a considerable variety of subjects, including sample investigations of official involvement in gainful economic transactions such as real estate deals.

Of still greater significance are the recommendations offered for the consideration of citizens. "Ultimately," the Commission explains, "the ethics of official conduct are the product of the ethics of citizenship." For this reason, the members as well as the leaders of organized groups are under an obligation to "orient their demands toward the interest of the community as a whole."

For the same reason, groups as well as individuals, when dealing with public authorities, are as much subject to the rule of disclosure of ethically relevant facts as are public officials or employees. Moreover, group action "becomes a hollow pretense when there is no actual sharing of responsibility within the group, when spokesmen act frequently with-

out bothering to find out whether the group is ready to commit itself or when the group makes it a habit to confirm the decisions of its leaders without delving into the facts."

The state of public ethics, in the words of the Commission, "is not the business of any particular group of individuals, in or outside of public office, but it is truly the business of every citizen." For practical purposes, every citizen means most citizens or, rather, most individuals whether or not they demonstrate civic sense. The job of the Commission ended with trying to reach their ears. Only time can tell about the results.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Specific action on the Commission's proposals by the county government is not likely at this moment because, as an interesting example of "government by the judiciary," the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, by decision of September 10, 1952, swept the nonpartisan majority on the county board out of office. The three members of the majority happened to have been employees of the federal government when elected, and the decision, on "taxpayer's suit," voided their tenure on the argument that the Virginia statute of 1928 (!) allowing such tenure in the face of a legal prohibition enacted in 1787 (!) was unconstitutional. The representatives of the two major parties on the county board had shown themselves unsympathetic to the work of the Commission. The three vacant seats will be filled in a special election on November 4, 1952. In the interim the seats are occupied by three judicial appointees, none of whom is a representative of the nonpartisan voters.



# 'Americanization' in Japan

*Observer concludes that many U. S.-inspired changes in local self-government institutions will be modified.*

By GEORGE A. WARP\*

THE current system of local government in Japan is a conglomeration of American, German, Chinese and native Japanese forms. About 1,000 years ago Chinese forms were imported. In 1888, after a brief trial with a system resembling that of the French, the national government adopted a system modeled after Prussian local government. And during the Allied occupation, American institutions were urged or imposed upon the Japanese in an effort to decentralize and render more responsible to the people the institutions which were basically German in form.

Regardless of what may be said of its institutional reforms, the Allied occupation unquestionably has added greatly to the prestige and consideration accorded the individual Japanese citizen. While Japanese officials still show less deference to their clientele than the American official does, the lot of the individual has been greatly improved.

The new Japanese constitution provides specifically that "all public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group

thereof." Other provisions give the people "the inalienable right to choose their officials and to dismiss them," guarantee universal adult suffrage with regard to the election of public officials, assure the secrecy of the ballot and provide for suits against governmental units for wrongs committed by public officials.

In spite of the recent doubling of the electorate in Japan by the extension to women of the right to vote, the percentage of eligible voters in local elections is amazingly high for a country without a system of compulsory voting. In the 1951 local elections, 83 per cent of those eligible voted for prefectural candidates, 84 per cent voted for city candidates and 95 per cent voted for town and village candidates. It should be noted that most of the local candidates, except those for prefectural assemblies, run as independents. Indeed, in the 1951 elections, more than 90 per cent of the candidates for town and village offices ran as independents.

There is a tendency for local government officials to underestimate the importance of the phenomenon evidenced by the large proportion of eligible voters who participate in local elections. This writer gained the impression that local officials, particularly in the larger and more populous units of government, appear to hold the Japanese voter in low respect. They claim that

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"bosses" bring out the vote and dictate the voters' choices. They are critical of the high cost of campaigning for public office. They constantly berate the lack of civic consciousness on the part of the Japanese citizen and insist that he possesses an inferior political intelligence which is badly in need of "education."

Efforts are being made to improve the qualifications of the voter. Many cities have sponsored the organization of public information committees. These are intended to arouse an awareness of local problems. Officials meet with the committees and endeavor to establish a system of two-way communication between officials and citizens. There is some fear that these committees, officially sponsored, will be used for political purposes or that they may eventually take on some of the objectionable features of the old neighborhood associations.

#### Citizens Organize

Under occupation sponsorship, better government associations have been organized in many Japanese localities. These associations are made up of private citizens and include representatives of the various local civic groups, trade union councils, parent-teacher associations, agricultural and consumer cooperatives and other such organizations. Regular open meetings are held and publicity is given to the proceedings in the local press. While there seems to be a tendency for these to come under official control, if they can remain independent they will constitute an important potential force for good government.

Parent-teacher associations, which

are organized throughout Japan and which appear to be very active, do much to improve the consciousness of the voters, especially so far as the education function is concerned. Many local officials are critical of these new organizations; they fear they will develop political objectives outside of the education field. There is no question, though, but that parent-teacher associations are exercising a substantial influence in furtherance of greater civic consciousness.

One of the new Japanese national holidays, *Seijin no Hi*, observed on January 15, is being used to promote civic consciousness. It is known as "coming of age" day. Many localities in Japan hold assemblies on this day for impressing upon new voters the nature of their responsibilities.

For purposes of local government, all of Japan is divided into 46 prefectures, and each prefecture is divided into cities, towns and villages. In addition, nine well defined blocs or regions are used extensively for administrative purposes, and a unit called the "gun," existing intermediate between the prefectures and the municipalities, is also used for certain administrative purposes. Overseeing this local government system but presently without extensive supervisory powers is the Local Autonomy Agency, the successor of the old Home Ministry which was abolished in 1947 by order of the Allied occupation authorities.

The occupation-inspired local autonomy law provides for the recall of local executives and assembly members. Under this provision, there



There have been about 300 recall actions of municipal mayors and assemblymen. There is no case of a prefectural governor or assemblymen having been removed on the basis of recall action. Political considerations rather than corruption or incompetency are alleged to have motivated most of the recall actions.

It should be noted that the threat of recall has been partly responsible for the large number of resignations of local executives and assemblymen in recent years. In four of Japan's 46 prefectures, more than one-third of the local executives submitted their resignations during the two-year period 1947-1948. Usually the threat of recall arose from irreconcilable conflicts which developed between the popularly elected executives and the assemblymen.

#### Official Organizations

The prefectural governors, prefectural assembly chairmen, city mayors, city assembly chairmen, town and village mayors and town and village assembly chairmen have organized separately into national associations. While only two are postwar organizations, all of them have had a great increase in activity and importance since the war. This increase has been due, in part, to the necessity for developing agencies for cooperative effort to fill the void left by the abolition of the old Home Ministry.

All eligible governmental units belong to the appropriate national associations in spite of the fact that membership is not compulsory. Attendance at annual meetings is usually good. For example, at the 30th anniversary meeting of the

Town and Village Association, more than 80 per cent of the mayors of the 10,000-odd towns and villages were in attendance at the huge auditorium in which the meeting was held. The combined staffs of the six associations total 112 employees, 82 of whom are on the staffs of the three associations of executives.

As for activities, all of the associations hold annual or semi-annual meetings. Regional and prefectural associations also hold periodic meetings. All emphasize their political programs, their pressure activities being directed primarily at the national government agencies and secondarily at Diet committees. All maintain research units and engage in some publication activities, three of them publishing periodicals. And all give some attention to in-service training. Some degree of cooperation between the national associations is achieved through the medium of the Japan Local Self-Government Institute, which is a Japanese version of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

One of the significant cooperative efforts which should be noted is that involved in the formation of mutual assistance associations to provide coverage to local government units against losses to public properties because of fire damage. Separate associations have been established for towns and villages, cities and prefectures. These three associations provide protection to the local government units at rates which are only 50 to 60 per cent of the rates charged by commercial insurance companies. And, in spite of the low rates, they

have been able to build up impressive surpluses and to conduct fire prevention campaigns.

Cooperating with the national associations and serving as secretariat for the Japan Local Self-Government Institute, the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research is perhaps the outstanding organization in Japan for improving the quality of municipal government. The Institute developed its program with the assistance of Dr. Charles A. Beard, who visited Japan from September 1922 to March 1923. It was modeled after the New York Institute for Municipal Research. The Beard influence is still dominant.

The Tokyo Institute is an independent corporation which finances its activities largely from the rent of space in the large office building in which its endowment is invested. It is governed by a board of nine men on which present and former national government officials predominate. The Institute has about 60 employees, 18 of whom are specialists in such fields as planning, finance, labor, industry, sociology, education, police, administration and engineering.

Current activities of the Institute include the operation of a municipal reference library containing some 52,000 Japanese books, 15,000 western books and more than 100 periodicals. The Institute publishes a Municipal Year Book and a quarterly journal, *Municipal Problems*. It is engaged in its third comprehensive city survey, this one of Toyonaka City—a city of 90,000 population located in Osaka Prefecture. And the Institute serves as secretariat for

the National Municipal League of Japan as well as for the Japan Local Self-Government Institute.

The officials of the Tokyo Institute support the development of better government associations, the movement for civil service reform, the rationalization of local government units and the principles of administrative reorganization. It appears to be particularly interested in improving the efficiency of municipal government and in fostering the cooperation of local government organizations in the interests of more effective local self-government.

#### Sentiment for Reorganization

Administrative reorganization is a much discussed subject in Japan. During the Allied occupation, the number of administrative employees and the number of administrative agencies increased greatly. For example, a recent study by the Local Autonomy Agency showed that since the end of the war the number of prefectural executive organs had increased from one to six and the number of advisory committees from 17 to 41. The study showed that in many jurisdictions the number of employees had doubled. There were also alarming increases in the number of departments, sections and sub-sections. Some of these were due to occupation pressures; some to pressures within the Japanese bureaucracy itself.

Under the occupation, the number of boards and commissions was greatly increased. In spite of the fact that the reorganization movement in the United States has tended away from the board form of organi-



zation, the board form was introduced in Japan in such fields as education, public safety, elections, personnel and auditing. Experts, who often favor an administrative board to head up their particular specialties even though they may not favor the board form generally, were in a position to bring pressure upon the Japanese to adopt their recommendations. The board system is not popular with the Japanese bureaucracy and it is criticized generally in public administration circles.

#### A Step Backward

The Japanese constitution required that local executives be elected by direct popular vote. Before the occupation, local executives were appointed. Prefectural governors were national officials responsible to the Home Ministry. City, town and village mayors were selected by local assemblies subject to the approval of higher authority. Like the board system, the idea of elected executives is criticized generally in public administration circles as lowering the efficiency of local government. Here, too, the system imposed upon the Japanese is contrary to the trend of reorganization thought in the United States.

The constitutional provision for election of local executives has been criticized as precluding the adoption of the council-manager form of government in Japan. Many Japanese officials and scholars who have visited the United States since the war have been greatly impressed by the council-manager form of government. The constitutional provision, inserted by occupation advisers, has

frustrated their efforts to work for a similar system in Japan. This writer pointed out to Japanese that several American state constitutions contain provisions somewhat similar to that in the new Japanese constitution and that the courts in these states have given interpretations favorable to the manager plan.

In Japan, which has adopted the American principle of judicial review, the fate of any legislation providing for the council-manager plan will depend ultimately upon the attitude of the courts. There is some agitation, however, for avoiding the constitutional issue by developing the assembly-appointed deputy mayors and governors into managers and for lessening the administrative responsibilities of the elective governors and mayors.

Japanese bureaucrats have a passion for uniformity in matters of governmental organization. They feel that all prefectures should have a similar organization, that all cities should have the same organizational breakdown, and that all towns and villages should have the same agencies of government. Even under the new legislation, a substantial degree of uniformity exists, but there is enough local variation now to disturb many of the national government officials with local government responsibilities. Some of these are obviously concerned over the difficulty of controlling a system of local government in which each local unit is organized according to its needs rather than in accordance with a pattern prescribed from above.

Allied occupation authorities were

late in tackling the democratization of local government. This was due partly to inertia on the part of those advisers who had local government responsibilities and partly to inter-section conflict in General Headquarters which rankled for several months. The decision to insist upon a revision of the old German-inspired system was made in 1947. In that year the Home Ministry was abolished, the local autonomy law was passed and the Local Autonomy Agency was created. Three years later, the local finance law and the local public service law were passed over potent opposition.

#### **Innovations May Fall**

Many occupation officials were skeptical of the plan to decentralize Japanese administration by strengthening local self-government. They felt that a highly centralized system was best for Japan, in view of its small area, its limited resources and its traditions of centralization. They insisted that a highly centralized government could still be a democratic government. Other occupation officials, however, felt that democracy in Japan would be more likely to endure if it developed a grass-roots basis.

Even before the end of the Allied occupation, a strong reaction set in against the American institutions

which had been brought to Japan in an effort to achieve a more decentralized and responsible local government. Probably all the American reforms had some advocates in Japan and some of the reforms have received considerable additional support since their imposition. Opposition to American reforms has centered upon the least tenable, such as the requirement of elected executives and the multiplicity of boards and commissions. It seems obvious to an observer, though, that the real aim is to restore many of the old controls which characterized the previous centralized system.

Doubtlessly, the American label on the new institutions of local government will cause many of the new institutions to fall or to be drastically modified in the reaction against occupation reforms. And some of the institutions deserve to fall or to be drastically modified, because they are not adaptable to Japanese conditions. It can only be hoped that the operation of the new institutions will be examined carefully and that rejections or modifications will be made only in the light of such careful examination. Undoubtedly many of the American innovations are good and should be retained and developed, and most intelligent Japanese local government leaders are aware of this fact.



# Too Many Elective Officials?

*Michigan reorganization committee's poll finds citizens have scant knowledge of state officers and how selected.*

By DONALD S. HECOCK\*

OPINION survey techniques have been used in a variety of investigations but only recently have they been made a part of state reorganization studies. In what is believed to be a pilot study, the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government polled citizen reactions in preparing its report on general management of the state.

Citizen interest in and acquaintance with state executive offices have a direct bearing on state reorganization. In fact, the matter of citizen concern about these offices might well have more weight in determining how an office should be filled than the usual arguments—that the lesser offices should be *appointive* for greater administrative efficiency or *elective* because that would preserve a proper balance of power. With adequate citizen attention, the election of any official becomes feasible and significant; without that attention it becomes an empty form and a travesty on the democratic process.

Citizen attention to public office may be assessed roughly in terms of the ballots cast. Even there a consistent falling off in votes at the bottom of the ballot is evident.

\*Dr. Hecock, acting chairman of the Department of Public Administration at Wayne University, Detroit, conducted the survey upon which this article is based.

Furthermore, these differentials increase when straight party ticket votes are eliminated. The relationship of this behavior to the voter's knowledge of the offices to be filled, however, has not been investigated, and understandably so. It requires a hardy, perhaps brash, interviewer to go to the sovereign citizen who has been making these decisions at the polls and ask him what he really knows about what he does. Yet such direct evidence is needed and the survey described below was intended as a beginning in this direction.

To survey Michigan as a whole was beyond the resources of the investigation so it was felt that sampling a county would be sufficient to produce significant results. The county selected was chosen because in recent years election results there reflected statewide results more accurately than any other county. The votes for winning candidates, expressed as a percentage of the total vote cast, are typical:

TABLE I

1946	State	Bay County
Governor	60.2	58.3
Treasurer	62.6	61.0
Secretary of State	62.8	60.7
1948	State	Bay County
Governor	53.4	53.9
Treasurer	49.6	49.0
Secretary of State	50.8	49.1

The sample was made up of 371

interviews of which 31 per cent were made in rural areas and 69 per cent in urban areas—chiefly Bay City. On the basis of the 1948 vote, this over-represented the rural interviews slightly.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-two calls involved persons not at home and sixteen persons who were at home refused to be interviewed. This left 323 interviews which resulted in answers to part or all of the questions.

For the rural areas, a random sample of the 1,058 one-mile stretches of road, as shown on the county road commission map, was chosen and one adult was interviewed in each house on the roads selected. For the city, election districts were selected by a system of random numbers. Each district was then divided into quarters and again the quadrant to be polled was selected in random fashion. Within the quadrant approximately every third house was used, leaving little discretion to the interviewer.

#### Interviews and Questionnaire

The interviews were held just seventeen days before the 1950 election, an election which, as it turned out, was to attract more voters to the polls than ever before in a non-presidential year. The questions were not designed to predict the election outcome. The key questions dealt with fact rather than opinion. However, to elicit a maximum of response and to minimize possible feelings of frustration, several opinion questions which did not have a vital relationship to the main point of the investigation were included.

These are discussed below as "peripheral questions."

The first key question was: Which one of the state offices do you know most about? As each person was questioned he was given an alphabetical list: attorney general, auditor general, controller, health commissioner, highway commissioner, police commissioner, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction and treasurer.<sup>2</sup> At a later point, to serve partially as a check on other data obtained, the question was asked, "Which one of the offices do you know least about?"

Table II shows the distribution of responses among those who had opinions:

TABLE II

	<i>Percentage of Responses</i>	
	<i>Best Known</i>	<i>Least Known</i>
Highway commissioner	26.	0.
Health commissioner	16.3	1.6
Secretary of state	14.	4.
Police commissioner	10.	3.
Treasurer	7.4	2.6
Attorney general	7.	9.4
Superintendent of public instruction	4.	13.
Auditor general	0.3	7.
Controller	0.	37.
"I don't know" or "I don't know about any of them"	15.	22.4
	100%	100%

The inverse correlation between the two sets of figures is readily noted. The fact that the highway commissioner was most familiar and the controller least familiar is understandable in terms of the direct services furnished to the public and

<sup>1</sup>In that election rural voters cast 25 per cent of the vote.

<sup>2</sup>All elective except controller, health commissioner and police commissioner.



the publicity attached to each office. The fact that the position of controller had existed for only about three years and that his name did not appear on numerous construction projects in the area is also pertinent.

Of special significance is the fact that two appointive offices, the commissioners of health and of police, ranked well above most of the elective offices. This should at least stimulate some question as to the basis for election of certain administrative officers and not others.

As soon as the "best known" official was indicated, each respondent was asked to tell about that office. If no answers were forthcoming, specific questions were asked as to the functions, the present office holder, whether elected or appointed, how long in office, term of office and time of next election or appointment.

There were 228 persons who had answers to these questions. If all six items had been answered there would be a total of 1,368 answers. Actually there were 780 answers of which 553 were correct.

The percentage of those responding and having one to six correct answers on the six questions about the office they said they knew best, is shown in Table III:

TABLE III						
Number of correct Answers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Per cent responding correctly	29.5	29.5	21	8	8.5	3.5

Recalling that each individual was talking only about the office he said he knew best, 59 per cent could answer only one or two of the questions and only 20 per cent could answer more than three. On the average there was one wrong answer for every two correct ones. Many incorrect statements were due to confusion between state and local officials. Others were traceable to well preserved memories of outstanding officials of more than a decade ago.

Responses to two of these questions were examined in detail—who holds the office now? And, is he elected or appointed? Results appear in Table IV.

TABLE IV

	<i>Number Choosing Each Office As Best Known</i>	<i>Number and Percentage Correctly Identifying Method of Selection</i>		<i>Number and Percentage Correctly Identifying Incumbent</i>	
	No.	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Highway commissioner	79	52	66	20	25
Health commissioner	50	23	46	0	0
Secretary of state	44	27	61	12	27
Police commissioner	30	15	50	4	13
Treasurer	23	19	83	1	4
Attorney general	21	11	52	4	19
Superintendent of public instruction	13	8	61	3	23
Auditor general	1	1	100	1	100
Controller	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	261	156	60	45	17

In respect to identification of present office holders, it should be reported that the secretary of state had campaigned for the nomination for governor just a few weeks earlier. The election for highway commissioner and superintendent of public instruction was last held in April 1949 and they might be considered as being at a disadvantage in the survey because of this.

To obtain comparative data in conjunction with the survey, a test on identification of incumbents in state office and the method of their selection was given 500 college students in social science classes at Bay City Junior College and Wayne University. This was done two days after the interviews and the same offices were included, with the addition of the governor—see Table V.

TABLE V  
Test of 500 College Students

Office	Method of Selection— Per Cent Correct	Identifica- tion of Incumbent Per Cent Correct
Governor (e) <sup>a</sup>	99.2	99.2
Secretary of state (e)	70.4	54.4
Police com'er (a)	89.8	16.6
Attorney general (e)	61.6	15.0
Highway com'er (e)	23.4	12.6
Treasurer (e)	65.4	4.6
Superintendent of public instruction (e)	18.4	3.8
Controller (a)	89.0	3.4
Auditor general (e)	35.0	2.0
Health com'er (a)	86.4	0.2
Total—exclusive of governor	60.0	12.5

<sup>a</sup>Candidates marked (e) elected; (a) appointed.

Instructions required the students to check those offices which were elective. Thus, the absence of a

check mark would be interpreted as showing the office to be appointive while the student merely may not have known. The effect was to exaggerate the number of correct answers for appointive positions. For the six elective offices (eliminating that of governor), which were of chief concern in this study, only 46 per cent of the students indicated they were elective—less than the 50 per cent score that would be expected on the basis of chance. While 60 to 70 per cent knew that the secretary of state, attorney general and treasurer were elected, few knew that the auditor general, highway commissioner and superintendent of public instruction were also elected.

#### Few Name Lesser Officers

In the attempt to name the persons then holding office the results were most striking. While 99.2 per cent could name the governor and 54.4 per cent could name the secretary of state, who had recently sought the nomination for governor, only 7.6 per cent correctly named the other five elected officials.

The results in the student test and the survey of voters were similar in many ways. Where the adults scored 60 per cent in distinguishing between elective and appointive offices, the students also scored 60 per cent—eliminating the governor. In identifying present office holders, the adults scored 17 per cent as compared with 12.5 per cent for the students. It should be recalled, however, that the students were asked to respond to all offices, while the adults responded only in respect to the office best known to them. It is



a fair assumption that if adults attempted the entire list their record would suffer.

Perhaps a more significant comparison between the two groups involved the results for individual offices. A larger percentage of students and adults correctly identified the secretary of state than any other officer (excluding the governor) and both had the greatest difficulty identifying the health commissioner and the controller. Both groups demonstrated that the method of selecting the superintendent of public instruction and the auditor general was not well established in their minds. The principal difference between the two groups appeared in relation to the highway commissioner. Among adults it was well known that the office was filled by election, but among students the notion seemed to prevail that commissioners of all types must be appointed. Students in the metropolitan area were especially uninformed on the highway office.

#### Peripheral Questions

In the survey an attempt was made to find explanations for differentials in response. One of the first questions was "Have you or any member of your family ever run for election?" The assumption was that those who answered in the affirmative might have more information on state government than the others. About 8 per cent did answer "Yes." Although the number involved might be too small to be of significance, these people were able to identify, on the average, twice the number of incumbents that

others could. Although the number of facts each gave regarding the offices was not above average, the errors made were less.

It was hoped that one early question in conjunction with the last two in the interview would give some suggestion as to public awareness of the long ballot and whether there was any tolerance for change. The question read: "At the present time some of our state officials are elected and some are appointed. Do you think that we elect too many, too few or about the right number?" It was felt that if this question followed the last two questions requesting specific information on offices it would tend to load the questionnaire in the direction of "too many officials." The responses were: too many, 12 per cent; too few, 22 per cent; about right, 41 per cent; don't know, 25 per cent.

There is no doubt that in answering one of the final questions, "Do you think state government could be improved?" most people were in effect responding with the stereotype: any institution can be improved. The fact that one-third of the respondents had no specific suggestions for improvement seems to support this conclusion. Considering these answers in relation to those on the question, "Do you think we elect too many etc.," a surprising amount of internal consistency appeared. Only nine of the 107 persons who felt too many or too few were elected indicated that they thought the state government could not be improved, while eight others "did not know." Interviews reported that

some individuals, recalling the follow-up questions which had been asked earlier, doubtless answered in the negative to avoid the request for specific improvements. There were 76 per cent who said state government could be improved, 11 per cent who said it could not and 13 per cent said they did not know. One of the latter commented, "The state is O.K., but something should be done about the world. It's a mess!"

### Improving State Government

Most suggestions offered for improving state government were readily classifiable. As might be expected, the largest group emphasized the need for economy, lower taxes or fewer taxes. The next largest class (which also included a few of the former) sought increased construction or maintenance of public works—especially roads. Politics, graft and excessive partisanship were cited frequently as areas needing attention. Concern with social services and law enforcement was prominent among the reactions. This included problems of relief, pensions, health and housing as well as more stringent control of speeding, liquor and gambling.

As suggested above, this open-ended question was included primarily to detect interest in governmental reform. Whether any persons interviewed would suggest such a thing themselves, in contrast to or in addition to such items as more school aid or elimination of the sales tax, was the question in the background.

About twenty responses could be considered in this category. They

included elimination of apparent duplication of state police and sheriffs' functions, a longer term for governor, appointment of lesser offices, modification of the primary ballot to permit splitting tickets, lowering the voting age, increased public reporting on state activities and the consolidation of selected departments. Last, but not least, "Voters should take more interest."

The usual smattering of contradictory answers appeared, including the need for more direct contact between officials and the public and "more time spent at their desks in Lansing." Nevertheless, the responses to this question should indicate to exponents of constitutional revision the existence of a sympathetic nucleus in the population.

The results of the present study indicate that citizens generally do not know most of their state officials or their functions and have considerable difficulty distinguishing between those who are elected and those who are appointed. This condition should not be interpreted as evidence of the failure of the schools to live up to their responsibilities in developing citizens, but rather as evidence that the present constitution calls for impractical levels of knowledge. Citizens generally demonstrate preoccupation with other facets of daily living. While the only logical step would seem to be a severe streamlining of the organization, there is actually little ready-made support for this. The rationalized attitude is: "We don't follow these matters closely, but we believe in maintaining the

(Continued on page 460)



# News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Executive Reorganization Urged for New Mexico

### *Committee Would Slash 200-Agency Arrangement*

AS A result of a year's study of the administration of the state government, the New Mexico State Reorganization Committee has issued its final report, with numerous recommendations for change. The committee was established by statute in 1951 and, with its staff, undertook an analysis of the state's administrative agencies—some 200 in number.

Most of the changes recommended could be accomplished by administrative or legislative action; some would require constitutional amendment. The latter type was restricted to very few. Although there are eleven elective state officers provided by the constitution the only eliminations would be the commissioner of public lands, who would be made appointive, and the three members of the Corporation Commission, which body, together with the present appointive Public Service Commission, would be superseded by a new appointive Public Utility Commission.

The report (139 pages) sets forth the following general and primary recommendations, in addition to a large number of detailed proposals for specific agencies or functions:

Establishment of approximately twelve departments, to integrate many of the functions now belonging to numerous small boards, commissions, committees, etc.; the department heads to be appointed and made subject to removal by the governor;

A comprehensive statutory person-

nel system, on the basis of merit; a strong Personnel Department under the supervision of a Personnel Commission, which shall appoint a director to be in charge of the technical work of the department;

A Department of Finance and Administration, headed by a director responsible to the governor;

A statutory executive budget system, to be administered by a Budget Bureau within the Department of Finance and Administration;

A general fund for all state revenues unless specifically exempted by law, and abolition of many special funds;

A constitutional amendment to do away with present constitutional income funds and place all current income in the general fund;

A well organized tax code.

The committee consists of seven members, the chairman being E. L. Moulton. Its two directors are Dr. Frederick F. Blachly and Dr. Miriam E. Oatman.

## ***Kentucky to Vote on Short Ballot***

The 1952 session of the Kentucky General Assembly has submitted two constitutional amendments to referendum, to be voted on in November 1953.

One would remove the secretary of state, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, and commissioner of agriculture, labor and statistics from the constitution. They are now required to be elected. The effect of the amendment would be to permit the legislature to provide for them as it sees fit. If the amendment passes the only administrative officials required to be elected will be the gov-

error, lieutenant governor, attorney general, auditor of public accounts and a three-member railroad commission.

The other amendment would permit the General Assembly to provide for the distribution of state school funds as it sees fit. Under present constitutional provisions 75 per cent of all state appropriations to the common school fund must be distributed to the local districts on a "per capita pupil basis." This has been interpreted by the state's highest court to mean on the basis of the number of children in each school district between six and eighteen years of age.<sup>1</sup>

J. E. REEVES

University of Kentucky

### ***Nebraska to Vote on Constitutional Amendments***

Six amendments to the Nebraska constitution will be submitted to the voters of that state on November 4. If adopted they will create a state board of education; change the requirements for publication of proposed constitutional amendments; change the basis of taxing motor vehicles; provide for the equalization of salaries of members of courts, boards and commissions; increase the salaries of legislators; and clarify provisions regarding the membership of constitutional conventions.

The Nebraska Legislative Council has prepared and distributed a 22-page pamphlet summarizing the six proposals in order that the public may be informed as to the purposes and effects of the amendments.

### ***Louisiana Establishes Legislative Council***

The regular session of the Louisiana legislature, which adjourned July

10, created a legislative council to furnish research and bill-drafting assistance to the legislature. It was formally organized July 30, as an eighteen-member committee with equal representation from each house. It was granted an appropriation of \$60,000 a year for 1952-54. A survey of legislative procedures was chosen as its first project. The Council of State Governments reports that with Louisiana there are 29 states that have established permanent interim legislative research agencies of this nature.

### ***Two States Plan Water Pollution Control***

A stream classification program has been worked out by officials of Rhode Island and Connecticut for water pollution control on an interstate basis. If it is approved by the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission, Rhode Island and Connecticut, as members of the commission, will each be bound to carry out its share of the recommended clean-up plan. The commission was established several years ago by interstate compact to combat water pollution in the New England-New York area and to protect the water resources of the states in that region.

Pollution control is sought in the Pawcatuck River valley, which covers 313 square miles along both sides of the boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut. Streams lying in both states drain into the river. Obviously, neither state alone could end pollution.

The proposed classification program divides the Pawcatuck River and its tributary streams into some 40 sections and specifies improvements for each through treatment or elimination of industrial and domestic wastes.

<sup>1</sup>See also the REVIEW, March 1952, page 146.

### ***Council-manager Plan Developments***

Voters of **Hereford, Texas**, (1950 population 5,207) at a referendum held September 6, adopted a home rule charter providing for the council-manager plan of government.

**Wamego, Kansas**, (1,869) adopted the council-manager plan on September 12 by a vote of 364 to 320. The plan had the support of the chamber of commerce and both local newspapers. The former distributed an eighteen-page booklet explaining the plan to all Wamego homes and business houses. Personal calls and interviews were made where possible.

In **Clinton, Maine**, which has had the town manager plan since 1945, a committee of five has been appointed to study the existing plan and to report to the town meeting by December 1952.

A committee appointed in **Cohasset, Massachusetts**, is investigating the advisability of a town manager form of government for that community.

An active movement for the council-manager plan is under way in **Geneva, New York**. On August 12 George F. Train, former manager at Auburn, New York, addressed the Kiwanis Club on the plan. On August 13 the public improvements committee of the Geneva city council visited Rochester, New York, to study the plan in effect there. The League of Women Voters began consideration of a proposal to place the question of adopting the plan on the November ballot.

In **Long Beach, New York**, the council-manager plan, which has been in effect since 1946, is under attack, it being claimed that the manager is dominated by the Democratic city leader. A further criticism is that the city has no elected mayor; in Long Beach the term "mayor" is not used

but the president of the city council performs the usual functions of the mayor under the council-manager plan. The manager, of course, is appointed by and is responsible to the council.

In **East Paterson, New Jersey**, W. F. Meyers, leader in the council-manager movement there, has taken legal steps to force a referendum on the subject, on the basis of a filed petition, and extra signatures, which the borough clerk refused to accept as adequate.

Mayor H. R. Murken of **Ramsey, New Jersey**, has announced that a referendum election will be held in November for a charter commission to draft a charter. He advocates the manager plan.

Several members of the city council of **Lake Wales, Florida**, have expressed themselves in favor of placing before the voters the question of adopting the manager plan.

**Evanston, Illinois**, will vote November 4 on adoption of the council-manager plan. Representatives of 25 civic organizations circulated petitions asking the referendum. **Oak Park, Illinois**, will also vote on the same question in November.

The **Herrin, Illinois**, Chamber of Commerce is undertaking a drive to place the manager plan before the voters.

The Coahoma County Chamber of Commerce, of **Clarksdale, Mississippi**, reports that many business leaders in Clarksdale are greatly interested in changing from the commission plan of city government to the council-manager plan.

The manager plan was urged upon the **Macon, Missouri**, Junior Chamber of Commerce at a meeting in August.

On August 26 **Brookfield, Missouri**, voted 1,321 to 686 to continue its



council-manager government. On August 19 the city council voted four to one to cut the manager's salary to \$6,000 from \$8,000, to which figure it had been raised last year when Kearney, Nebraska, offered him that salary.

**Bethany, Oklahoma**, voted 320 to 178 for charter revision and elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. The latter is expected to be a council-manager charter and will be submitted to popular vote. Charles F. Spencer, president of East Central State College at Ada, will assist the board.

Petitions calling for a vote on changing from the commission to the council-manager plan were filed on September 2 with the **Helena, Montana**, city council. Total signatures were reported as 3,669 as against a requirement of 1,971 valid signatures in order to compel action.

A vote on the question of adopting the manager plan is expected in **Cheyenne, Wyoming**, as a result of a petition filed on August 5; the date of the election, however, has been a subject of controversy.

The International City Managers' Association has announced that the city council of **Winnetka, Illinois**, has placed in the city hall a plaque in memory of the late Herbert L. Woolhiser, who was that city's manager for 34 years until his death in October 1951. A wild bird sanctuary also has been planned in Winnetka as a memorial to him. In **Stockton, Kansas**, a Goodrich Memorial Fund, set up in memory of O. M. Goodrich who was city manager for 28 years, is being used to improve a playground.

The sixth New England Managers' Institute was held in Orono, Maine, in late August. It was attended by 63 managers and 25 others.

### ***ICMA Adopts Revised Manager Code of Ethics***

Members of the International City Managers' Association, at their 1952 conference, approved a revised Code of Ethics and adopted several amendments to the association's constitution. The new Code of Ethics strengthens the professional aspects of the manager's job. It places more emphasis on the role of the manager as a community leader in submitting policy proposals to the council. Other new provisions in the code include: "The city manager defends municipal policies publicly only after consideration and adoption of such policies by the council. . . . The city manager avoids coming in public conflict with the council on controversial issues. Credit or blame for policy execution rests with the city manager."

The new code also stresses the duty of the city manager continually to improve his ability and his usefulness and to develop the competence of his associates in the use of management techniques. Finally, the new code places more emphasis than previously on public relations, stressing "friendly and courteous service to the public" and stating further that "the chief function of the local government at all times is to serve the best interests of all the people on a nonpartisan basis."

The amended constitution provides that the professional conduct of all members of the association shall be governed by the Code of Ethics and that violation of the code will be considered reason for suspension or expulsion from membership.

### ***Strong Mayor Proposed for Warren, Ohio***

A charter commission of fifteen members, elected last November in Warren, Ohio, has presented a strong-

mayor charter for action by the voters on November 4. It provides for election of a mayor, council president and nine councilmen--seven from wards and two at large, each for two-year terms. The present elective offices of city solicitor, auditor and treasurer are abolished; departments of law and finance, each headed by a director appointed by the mayor, are created.

If approved at the polls the charter will take effect January 1, 1954.

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### ***Merger of Local Housing Agencies Recommended***

In as diverse and widely separated communities as Chicago and Norwich, Connecticut, the consolidation of local housing agencies has recently been urged as a means of improved administration and control.

A study of government organization for redevelopment and housing in Chicago, just completed by the Public Administration Service at the request of the city council's committee on housing, finds that the redevelopment and public housing programs in that city could be accelerated by consolidating the functions of five existing municipal agencies into a single city department. It says, "The complexity of relationships which exists among those agencies and which makes it difficult and even impossible to determine the exact degree of responsibility, if any, of a particular agency" has caused delays in Chicago's housing and redevelopment programs.

The five agencies are: Chicago Housing Authority, a municipal corporation charged with the construction and management of low-rent public housing; Chicago Land Clearance Commission, a municipal corporation responsible for the redevelopment of most types of blighted areas; Chicago Dwellings Association, a non-profit corporation organized to build medium

rental housing; Office of Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator, an extension of the mayor's office created to coordinate the efforts of local housing and redevelopment agencies; and the Bureau of Housing Inspection of the city's Department of Buildings, which inspects existing housing for conformance with established use, safety and sanitation standards.

### ***Norwich, Connecticut***

In the city of Norwich, Connecticut, the city manager has rendered a report and recommendations after an investigation, authorized by the city council, into public housing administration. In Norwich and vicinity there is a town housing authority as well as the city housing authority. Both had been severely criticized but without the power of subpoena the city manager was hampered in developing legal evidence. His report reviews the situation as based on various types of inquiry.

Besides urging that state legislation be sought to enable the manager, as appointing officer, to subpoena persons and records in an investigation of public housing, he advocated legislation to merge the two housing authorities. He also recommended a continuing analysis of all tenant applications, as to eligibility, and a careful screening of existing tenants from the income standpoint; and a full exploration of the ramifications of public housing by the planning commission and the redevelopment agency.

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### ***San Antonio Has 8 Radio and Television Programs***

Recent additions to radio and television publicity projects of the city of San Antonio, Texas, have brought to six the number of radio programs, with two television programs in addition.

The latter includes a bi-weekly show entitled "The City Manager Reports," for fifteen minutes on Sunday morning, which has been supplemented by a short interview with a city employee each Thursday afternoon.

The radio programs include an hour and a half weekly broadcast of city council meetings: "Your City Government," on Friday evenings for fifteen minutes, with City Manager C. A. Harrell as moderator; two programs featuring on-the-spot activities of the police department and the corporation court; and short summaries at 5.45 P.M. five days a week, of daily activities of the police and fire departments respectively.

### ***Permanent Registration Spreads in Louisiana***

The parishes (counties) of Ascension, East Feliciana, St. James, Calcasieu, Iberia and Jefferson, Louisiana, have adopted permanent registration of voters, as may be done by any parish. In Orleans, East Baton Rouge and Caddo it is mandatory inasmuch as each contains a city of over 100,000 population — New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Shreveport, respectively.

Ouachita and Beauregard parishes have adopted permanent registration conditioned on state financial support. This makes eleven parishes, which represent more than half of Louisiana's voting-age population.

### ***AMA to Meet in Los Angeles***

The American Municipal Association will hold its Municipal Congress in Los Angeles, California, December 1-3, with headquarters at the Statler Hotel.

Three half days are reserved for group meetings and two half days for general sessions. Daily luncheons will be addressed by prominent mayors.

### ***NIMLO to Meet in Louisville***

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has announced that its 1952 annual conference will be held at the Brown Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky, on December 1, 2 and 3, 1952. The program will feature reports by NIMLO's 21 committees, summarizing the most important legal developments and experience in municipal law.

### **TOO MANY ELECTIVE OFFICIALS?**

(Continued from page 454)

machinery of direct control just in case of an emergency."

Students of political processes have explained that the public, although short on identifying basic problems of organization and action, is better able to make a competent selection among competing personalities seeking public favor. Life experiences are said to furnish a laboratory for appraising real people but not abstruse programs. Even this is a dubious explanation when applied to a long ballot situation in state government. It does apply with some force, however, to the relationship between the voter and his acquaintances who specialize in public affairs. When in doubt, the voter turns to the leaders of friendly pressure groups, civic agencies and party organizations for advice. Thus, we have a sort of second-hand control without officially recognizing it, when what we need is an organization simple enough to permit the vast majority of voters to make informed judgments on elected officials and their performance.



**County and Township***Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck***Florida to Vote  
on County Home Rule*****Self-government Amendment  
to Be on November Ballot***

ON THE Florida ballot on November 4 will be the question of home rule for counties. At present there is no semblance of self-government and county structure is frozen in a uniform pattern by the state constitution. Matters not prescribed by the constitution, such as officers' salaries, duties and procedures, are determined by local bills enacted in the state legislature.

The home rule amendment will provide: "The legislature shall have the power to grant to any county a charter under which it may regulate and govern itself. The legislature may provide, by general or special law, the manner in which any county may form its own charter. Any county charter may designate the name of the county, regulate hours, duties and jurisdiction of all county officers and designate their classes, terms and jurisdiction, and provide the manner of their selection and compensation. The legislature may authorize the adoption of charters by the several counties at general or special elections, which charters may be altered or amended only by the method by which they are adopted, notwithstanding other provisions of the constitution."

***City-county Cooperation  
in Georgia and Kentucky***

Bibb County and the city of Macon, Georgia, have developed various areas of coordination in administration.

They have created a joint board of health which administers health rules and regulations irrespective of city limits. The board is financed by both city and county funds. A joint planning and zoning commission is under consideration. The proposed plan would include a joint board appointed by city and county officials and financed by both governmental units. The municipal airport is owned jointly by the city and county, although operated by the city only. In the area of flood control, the city and county are cooperating in levee construction and maintenance. Finally, highway construction activities have required extensive cooperation between the city and county governments.

The city commissioners of Cynthiana, Kentucky, have entered an agreement with the Harrison County Fiscal Court to pay half the costs of operating a health center. It will be operated jointly by the city and county, but federal and state funds amounting to \$50,000 will be contributed to the costs of constructing the public health building.

***City-county Consolidation  
Proposed in Colorado***

The city manager of Pueblo, Colorado, recently recommended that that city consolidate with Pueblo County to form a single unit of government. He said consolidation would result in economy and efficiency for the taxpayer and pointed to the combination which had succeeded in Denver for more than fifteen years. A consolidated city-county health unit became effective last July 1 and the manager will propose a joint parks

and recreation system in 1953. This recommendation will require the approval of the city council and the county commissioners, but the overall consolidation will be possible only after a favorable referendum vote.

### ***County Considers Status as City***

The Arlington County, Virginia, board recently requested the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration to make a study as to the feasibility of incorporation of the county as a municipality. The question will be on the ballot at the coming general election, but it is anticipated that the results of the study will be available to citizens before the referendum.

If Arlington votes favorably on the proposition, it will be the third Virginia county to do so, Warwick and Elizabeth City Counties taking such action earlier this year.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Indiana to Vote on Increasing County Officer Terms***

Two amendments to the Indiana constitution will be submitted to the voters in Indiana at the November 4 election. Both relate to terms of office for elective county officials—clerk of the circuit court, auditor, recorder, treasurer, sheriff, coroner, surveyor and prosecuting attorney. The proposed term for all these officials is four years, none to continue in office for more than eight years in any period of twelve years. Terms of prosecutor, surveyor and coroner are now two years, the rest are four.

### ***Pennsylvania Governor Appoints County Study Commission***

Nearly eight months after the Pennsylvania legislature provided for ap-

pointment of a Metropolitan Study Commission for Allegheny County — to engage in long range planning for the county and its municipalities including Pittsburgh — Governor Fine has named the fourteen commission members. Appointments were made from nominations of fourteen civic, labor and municipal organizations.

In calling a commission meeting, the governor reiterated the act's instructions that the commission "is directed to make a report on its findings and recommendations on or before January 1, 1953." This gives the commission three and a half months to accomplish the work for which it was to have had at least a year, reports the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.

The commission is to study techniques of developing uniform building codes, control of housing developments, cooperative law enforcement and fire protection, consolidation of small communities and school districts, and improvements in the systems of roads and public transportation.<sup>1</sup>

### ***County Coroners on the Way Out***

Coroners disappeared from Virginia this year with the passage of a law changing the title to medical examiner. Since 1948 coroners in the counties and city-counties of Virginia have been appointed by the (appointive) state health commissioner, who also appoints the chief medical examiner. The latter operates the state central office and laboratory, to which the local officials report cases of suspicious deaths.

A 1952 law in Louisiana authorizes two-thirds of the coroners of the parishes (counties) in any congressional district, subject to the approval

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<sup>1</sup>See "Virginia Counties Turn Cities," the REVIEW, September 1952, page 387.

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, July 1952, page 359.

## Taxation and Finance

. . . Edited by Wade S. Smith

## Sales and Excise Taxes Widely Used

### 'Hidden Levies' Mainstay of State Revenue Systems

BY judicious selection of his place of residence or employment, or both, a citizen of these United States may limit his income tax liability to that imposed by the federal government. Some nineteen states still refrain from taxing his individual income as such, and he need exercise only reasonable vigilance to avoid a city, school district or county income tax.<sup>1</sup>

When it comes to excise and sales taxes, however, no such freedom of choice prevails. He can scarcely avoid in normal existence the purchase of articles upon which the federal government, the state or a local unit imposes an excise tax and, if he would avoid a general sales tax his choice of residence is even more restricted than if he seeks to avoid an income tax. Still, he may find solace in one thought — there is as yet no federal general sales tax.

That use of sales and excise taxes is widespread at all levels of government is confirmed by the U. S. Treasury's current revision of *Federal-State-Local Tax Coordination: A Treasury Tax Study*, which provides a catalogue, as of January 1, 1952, of the principal taxes in use by the federal, state and local governments. In last month's column the study was the basis for a brief survey of the income tax; this month it serves conveniently to point up the still important place in our

revenue systems played by the excise tax, both general and selective.

In terms of revenue produced, excise taxes, of course, lag far behind the income tax. Yet even at the federal level excise taxes in fiscal 1951 yielded more than \$8,704,000,000 or close to 19 per cent of federal revenues exclusive of social security payments. At the state-local level the yield was in excess of \$5,000,000,000, equal to about 32 per cent of state-local revenues.

### General Sales Taxes

The federal government does not levy a general sales tax, although suggestions that it do so have not been lacking. Such suggestions are usually vigorously opposed by the states, a majority of which depend to a large degree on the general sales tax to finance major cost items in their budgets. At the beginning of the year, according to the Treasury study, general sales taxes were levied by 31 states and the District of Columbia. Among the larger and wealthier states, only New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania lack this modern device for extracting taxes from their citizens.

By far the commonest general sales tax rate is 2 per cent, but one state (Rhode Island) levies at 1 per cent, and there are eight states levying at 3 per cent. All but four states have accompanying use taxes, contrived to make impossible avoidance of the sales tax by purchase of the article in a tax-free state.

Not only is the general sales tax a central feature of the revenue systems of more than two-thirds of the states, but it is becoming widely used also at the local level. Since New York City imposed the first city sales tax in

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, September, 1952, page 412.



1934, its use has gathered momentum, slowly at first and more rapidly in the postwar period. New Orleans was the second city to adopt the tax in 1938.

An eight-year lull followed, and then local sales taxes broke out like a rash in California and spread rapidly elsewhere. About 150 cities have adopted sales taxes in California since 1945, with 147 still in effect at the beginning of the current year, according to the U. S. Treasury. Rates range from  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Two cities and four counties in Alabama have local sales taxes, mainly levied at 1 per cent, while Mississippi has six cities using the tax (all  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent) and New York has four cities, in addition to New York City, and two counties. Rates range from 1 per cent in Erie County (Buffalo) to 3 per cent in New York City. In Louisiana, Baton Rouge in 1951 followed New Orleans' example with a 1 per cent levy, while other sales taxes are to be found in Denver, Colorado, (1 per cent) and Bristol, Virginia, (2 per cent).

### Selective Sales Taxes

Easily the most varied and simplest to collect of taxes are the excises — the selective sales taxes which may be imposed either at the consumer or at the manufacturer level, and sometimes are imposed at both. They are levied in almost every conceivable form by the federal government, are duplicated, generally at materially different rates, by virtually all the states, and are not infrequently imposed again at the local government level. Often they are associated with licenses, but it is the tax itself with which this summary is concerned.

Examples drawn from taxes on three classes of commodities will suffice to illustrate the situation: alcoholic

beverages, tobacco and gasoline, which together produced close to half the total sales tax revenues of federal-state-local governments in fiscal 1951.

The big revenue producer among the excises is the federal tax on distilled spirits, now \$10.50 per proof gallon. By comparison, state excise taxes on spirits are low, ranging from 50 cents to \$3 per gallon in the 30 license states. In the sixteen liquor monopoly states, nine impose no tax, securing the equivalent from their profits in operation of the monopoly, while the remainder generally impose a tax at a specified percentage of the retail price. The prohibition states, Mississippi and Oklahoma as of January 1, 1952, derived no direct income from distilled spirits.

Taxes on beer are imposed by the federal government (\$9 per barrel), by all 48 states and by the District of Columbia. State rates are less than \$3 per barrel in about two-thirds of the states, but run to \$10 or more in four, with \$13 per barrel in Mississippi the highest reported. Thirty-one states impose taxes on wines, as does the federal government. Classifications vary greatly as to wines, but the Treasury notes that light wines are mainly taxed by the states at rates greater than the 17 cents per gallon federal levy and fortified wines at rates less than the federal 67 cents rate.

Like taxes on alcoholic beverages, taxes are levied in some form on gasoline by each of the states as well as by the federal government and the District of Columbia. They are also imposed by some 298 local units in seven states, this overlapping producing a top combined rate of twelve cents per gallon in at least one Mississippi county. The federal rate, imposed at the manufacturer's level, is two cents per gallon. State rates are mainly at

five cents or less but range up to nine cents, in Louisiana. At the local level, one cent is the most popular rate for city and county motor fuel taxes, and three cents the highest.

Third tax selected for illustrative purposes is the excise on tobacco. The federal government, 41 states and the District of Columbia levy the most prevalent tobacco tax, that on cigarettes. The federal tax, under the 1951 revenue act, is \$4 per 1000, equal to eight cents per pack of twenty cigarettes. The District of Columbia imposes one additional cent, but no state lets the smoker off so easily. The commonest state rate is three cents per pack, but seven states charge five cents or more and the top is eight cents, Louisiana again.

Local taxes on cigarettes are also levied in eight states, including two where permissive legislation became effective in mid-1951. In Florida, under a 1949 statute, cities are authorized to levy not to exceed five cents per pack (the state rate), with the state rate reduced proportionately and collections prorated between the state and municipality. One Alabama city is reported to levy at three cents, but other local rates reported are two cents per pack or less. Among the larger cities, Atlantic City, Denver, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City (Missouri), and Omaha are included in those levying local cigarette taxes.

The foregoing excises are all based on the sale of commodities, as are most excise taxes. Some sales of services have been made subject to excise levies, however, most prevalently "admissions," telephone and telegraph service, and transportation, all taxed at the federal level and by some states and local units.

### ***Louisville Medals Awarded***

The annual Louisville Awards, announced at the recent conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, went this year, for achievements in 1951, to men who as finance directors in two cities worked out respectively a money-saving bond financing plan and a comprehensive manual of accounting procedures. Three certificates of merit and honorable mention were also presented.

The Louisville gold medal went to Carl J. Faist, director of finance of Saginaw, Michigan, for his work in developing a plan whereby the city saved an estimated \$500,000 in interest over a 25-year period by issuing general obligation bonds to pay off its share of a special assessment drainage project. Special legislation was required. The drainage assessment carried 6 per cent interest, the city bonds 1.85 per cent.

The silver medal went to Robert P. Aex, now city manager of Newburgh, New York, for his work in developing an accounting manual for a newly established internal auditing staff when he was city comptroller at Rochester, New York.

### ***Hopes Dashed for Government Census***

Unless the next Congress assembling in 1953 should reverse the action of the last, local officials, civic groups, statistical organizations and just plain citizens will have to wait another five years for the now past due Census of Governments. Funds for the study were deleted from the appropriation bill by the conference committee in the closing days of the last session.

The last census was that of 1942, and it had been hoped that with the

end of the war the intended but seldom realized schedule of a study every five years could be resumed. As things stand, there is still lacking a comprehensive, accurate compilation of state and local governmental basic statistics that is reasonably up to date and reflective of the tremendous changes wrought by the war and postwar years.

While students of local government apparently must continue to get along without an up-to-date set of benchmarks on local debt, revenues and expenditures, the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census continues to make available its annual studies for selected units, including data on each of the states and on cities having populations of 25,000 or more. These include the annual *Compendium on State Government Finances and Compendium on City Government Finances*, which may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., as well as preliminary bulletins on state finances and on city finances available directly from the Bureau. Also directly available from the Bureau are two bulletins covering all governmental units, *Governmental Debt in 1951* and *Governmental Revenue in 1951*.

Other Governments Division publications include a series on public employment (issued quarterly), on state employment, on city employment, and on state distribution of public employment (the latter annual).

Civic groups and others having a need for comparative data on local or state finance, and especially those who had been awaiting the appearance of the comprehensive Census of Governments, may find useful a current bulletin of the Governments Division, listing the various series currently available and some of the more useful recent publications. The leaflet is *Census Bureau Publications on Govern-*

*ments*, and is available on request addressed to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C.

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## COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 462)

of the police juries of the several parishes, to establish a forensic laboratory for ascertainment of the causes of death.

The Wisconsin Bar Association is considering a proposal to introduce legislation to transfer the duties of the coroner to the district attorney of the counties and to a new state office of medical examiner. A committee of the association reported that the typical coroner is not trained or equipped to make medical or legal investigations in this day of modern science and that he is not selected for his technical qualifications. Investigation in 1951 revealed that 36 of the 71 coroners in the state were undertakers. The report pointed out that the state medical examiner system, functioning in collaboration with the office of prosecutor, now is in effect in several states and is endorsed by the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association.

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## Missouri Counties Transfer Roads to State

In Missouri the county courts and county highway commissions are co-operating with the State Highway Commission in the selection and transference of roads to the state. From ten to fifteen miles of local roads in each county will be transferred during the current year, and eventually twelve thousand miles will be shifted to the state. The legislation provides for \$118,000,000 to improve the roads so transferred over a ten-year period.



## Proportional Representation . . . Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

### Three Massachusetts Cities to Vote on P. R.

#### *Retention Is Challenged in Cambridge, Quincy, Medford*

AS THE result of petitions filed under 1952 legislation,<sup>1</sup> the question of retention or abandonment of proportional representation will be determined by referendum at the November election in Cambridge, Quincy and Medford, Massachusetts. If P. R. is voted out in any of these cities, there will be no possibility of re-adoption by future referendum under existing Massachusetts legislation.

Cambridge was the first Massachusetts city to adopt P. R. when it voted for a "Plan E" council-manager charter in 1940. It has enjoyed a remarkable improvement in government since that time, mostly under the direction of Colonel John B. Atkinson, who served as manager from the beginning of operations under the new charter until last summer. The Plan E Committee has been reactivated in support of P. R. and has challenged certain of the signatures to the petitions as invalid.

In Medford the group advocating abolition of P. R., led by ex-Mayor John J. Irwin, praised the city's council-manager charter for its efficiency but asserted that P. R. was mysterious and expensive. This drew a reply from City Clerk George P. Hassett, who challenged the expense comparison, quoting costs of elections under both the old election system and under P. R., and added that "there is no

mystery to P. R. voting to myself, my associates or to the election workers who aided in the count."

The move to repeal P. R. in Quincy is being led by the city's mayor, David S. McIntosh. The petitions, claims Mayor McIntosh, contain about 3,000 names. Approximately 2,300 valid signatures are required under the 1952 state law which reduced the number needed for a P. R. vote from 10 to 5 per cent.

#### *No P. R. Referendum in Worcester*

Since insufficient signatures were obtained on petitions for a referendum on P. R. in Worcester, Massachusetts, no vote will be held in that city in November. The petitions were circulated pursuant to resolution of the Democratic City Committee adopted in July.

The *Worcester Telegram*, in an editorial of July 25, treated the petitions as a matter of straight party politics, with these remarks:

The conclusion is inescapable: the Democratic machine in the commonwealth has given a high priority to the defeat of P. R. Why? Because it is the one method by which a city can cancel the tickets of free riders on the municipal gravy train. P. R. short-circuits the control of any political machine over a municipality's political life.

The decision of Worcester's Democratic City Committee is all the more difficult to understand since Plan E has not deprived the Democrats of their margin of control in the city council. The slight surplus of registered Democrats over Republicans in Worcester has been faithfully reproduced by P. R. in the city council. That the Demo-

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 257.

cratic members of the council have not been able to act in concert is their own affair. P. R. has done the job of accurately representing the political complexion of the city in the municipal legislative body.

Thomas S. Green, Jr., president of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, made a public statement on August 24 urging voters not to sign the anti-P. R. petitions. He said:

CEA regards P. R. as an integral essential part of the Plan E charter. Repeal of P. R. would open the door to city control by political machine. CEA will combat, with all its strength, this move to sabotage our charter.

Worcester, under Plan E with P. R., has had the most representative government in its history.... Our two and a half years under Plan E have been marked by a spirit of cooperation among our elected officials. They can and have worked freely together to provide increasingly efficient, constructive and non-partisan government for all the city.

When a Worcester citizen votes under P. R. he knows that his vote will count. In 1947, in our last old-style plurality election, 47 per cent of the voters elected the council. With P. R. 83 per cent elected it. This is true majority rule.

Those who say that P. R. is confusing have closed their eyes to Worcester's own record. In 1949 Worcester set a record low for percentage of invalid ballots—2 per cent.<sup>1</sup> This figure is below the 3 to 4 per cent invalid ballots cast in the average Worcester plurality election. Anyone who can read the instructions on the ballot can vote properly under P. R.

Those who say that P. R. elections are more expensive than the old plurality style forget that with P. R. the expense of primaries is eliminated. With P. R. the citizen can vote more effectively in one trip to the polls than he can in two with plurality voting.

## ***British Columbia and Alberta Use Alternative Vote***

A report on the use of the "alternative vote" for the first time in a British Columbia general election appeared in *Saturday Night*, published in Toronto, Canada, on August 2. In this system of voting representatives are chosen by single-member districts, but a preferential ballot is used to provide each elector with a single transferable vote.

This system has been used for many years in the rural constituencies of the neighboring province of Alberta, but there the two principal cities are multi-member constituencies and elect their representatives by the Hare system of P. R., using the same type of ballot as the rest of the province.

According to the British Columbia report, written by Melwyn Breen, the alternative vote was introduced in British Columbia just before the recent election by a coalition of the Conservative and Liberal parties in the hope that it would permit them to resume their traditional rivalry without risking domination of the government by a minority third party such as the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. The previous election, in 1949, had returned 40 members of the coalition of Conservatives and Liberals to the 48-member provincial parliament, while the CCF strength was reduced from sixteen to seven.

The rupture of the coalition and resumption of rivalry between the older parties had an unexpected result, however. In spite of the alternative vote, the parties acting separately could not attract the majority they had gathered in their previous joint effort. Although the CCF registered a substantial gain and obtained eighteen seats, the feature of the British Columbia contest was the

<sup>1</sup>In some elections in Ireland the percentage has gone even lower. EDITOR.

election of nineteen candidates of the Social Credit party, the governing party of Alberta, which had not obtained a single seat in the previous election. Of these nineteen only two have had previous legislative experience. The party's campaign was conducted with leadership supplied by the neighboring province.

Mr. Breen's article states that if the plurality system had been used instead of the alternative vote, the CCF would have obtained three additional seats, which would have distorted the electoral results, since its three rivals all espoused a free-enterprise policy opposed to the socialist orientation of the CCF. "For the first time in British Columbia history," adds Mr. Breen, "not a single member slipped into the legislature on a minority vote." The article does not give figures which would show whether the resulting representation unduly emphasized the new interest in the Social Credit party at the expense of Conservatives and Liberals, who suffered under the single-member district system from having their following geographically diffused.

### P. R. Used Again in Alberta

While extending its influence westward the Social Credit party continued its preeminence in Alberta, where the principal issue in this year's election, according to the *Calgary Albertan*, appears to have been the manner and extent to which the province should assist municipalities now that revenues from newly discovered oil and gas resources have made the provincial government prosperous. All the parties in this contest promised increased grants of funds to municipalities of one kind or another.

Just before the election the representations of the two principal Al-

bertain cities, Calgary and Edmonton, were increased, the former by one and the latter by two members in the provincial legislature, without changing the P. R. method of election at large in these cities. That the voting system is highly regarded by its users is voiced by the following editorial statement of the *Albertan* on August 4:

Tomorrow Alberta will use the most advanced and most accurate voting system that can be found anywhere. It has been used many times before in this province, and the people would not tolerate any other kind. We have never heard any responsible Alberta citizen advocate its repeal.

Other provinces are beginning to see its merits, and a few weeks ago British Columbia tried a distorted version of it. In spite of everybody trying to confuse what is essentially a simple procedure, and in spite of blundering delays in the counting of the ballots, the system worked well.

Alberta's system is actually a hybrid. There are two kinds of constituencies here, the rural ones which elect only one member each, and the Calgary and Edmonton constituencies, which elect six and seven respectively. In the one-member ridings the single transferable ballot is used, while in the multi-member ridings it is the same kind of ballot but it is called proportional representation.

To enlighten those who are voting here for the first time it is pointed out that each voter actually votes for only one candidate. He puts the figure one beside the name of the candidate of his choice. But if that candidate is elected by other people's votes, or if he is eliminated in the counting, the voter can save his ballot by having another choice marked on it. And similarly a third choice, and so on. . . .

And when the ballots are counted, no one can be elected in the rural ridings without an actual majority of the votes. And the same in Cal-



gary and Edmonton,<sup>1</sup> with the added advantage that the seats are divided among the parties in proportion to the way the voters are divided. What could be fairer?

### ***P. R. League to Meet in San Antonio***

The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting for the election of officers in San Antonio on November 17 at 2.15 P.M. As formerly, the meeting will be held during the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League November 17-19. Headquarters will be at the Gunter Hotel.

In accordance with action taken at a meeting of the League last year in Cincinnati, a committee to explore the whole subject of proportional representation methods and public relations will hold its first session immediately following the business meeting.

The following persons have thus far been invited to serve on the committee: Philip A. Alger, General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York; Emmett L. Bennett, Bureau of Governmental Research, Cincinnati; Hugh A. Bone, University of Washington, Seattle; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former city council

member, Cincinnati; Richard S. Childs, chairman, Executive Committee, National Municipal League, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work*, St. Louis; Cyrus J. Fitton, attorney, Hamilton, Ohio; Forest Frank, executive director, City Charter Committee, Cincinnati; Robert P. Goldman, attorney, Cincinnati;

Thomas S. Green, Jr., president, Citizens' Plan "E" Association, Worcester, Massachusetts; George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, Proportional Representation League, New York; George P. Hassett, city clerk, Medford, Massachusetts; C. G. Hoag, honorary secretary, Proportional Representation League, Haverford, Pennsylvania; Elsie S. Parker, assistant editor, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, New York; Oxie Reichler, editor, *Herald Statesman*, Yonkers, New York; Donald Spencer, attorney, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Howard White, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; Thomas Raeburn White, attorney, Philadelphia; Wm. Redin Woodward, attorney, New York; Belle Zeller, Brooklyn College, New York.

Another session of special interest to P. R. supporters is scheduled for Tuesday morning, November 18. Titled "Representative City Government," it will discuss proportional representation as well as pluralistic election at large, the ward system, etc. A preliminary program for the entire conference will be mailed shortly to all members.

<sup>1</sup>Under P. R. any majority of the members represents a majority of the voters, but each single member can be elected by a smaller vote—called a quota—thus affording accurate minority representation. EDITOR.

**Citizen Action** . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

## How One Group Selects Candidates

### *Citizen Action Committee of Miami Wins Elections*

RECENT campaigns by the Miami Citizens Action Committee, for the election of good candidates to public office, have resulted in sweeping victories. Says M. L. Todd, chairman of the committee, "We won two out of three offices contested in the city election last fall and five out of six in countywide primary elections of the spring, making a total of seven out of nine endorsed candidates for high public office in the city of Miami and the county of Dade." In the city offices, reports Mr. Todd, both candidates elected with committee support scored the highest votes ever to be received for that office in the history of the community. The candidate for sheriff actually polled more votes than the winner of the gubernatorial race, who always leads the field in these elections. The victory was made despite "vicious allegations, charges and countercharges," declares Mr. Todd.

Mr. Todd describes the methods used by the Citizens Action Committee to select candidates it will support for election:

A screening committee of a minimum of fifteen members is selected from the general membership by the chairman. This panel selects its chairman, who is held absolutely responsible for all records and statements of the committee.

All members must attend the screening of all candidates for a particular office, otherwise their ratings will be discarded.

The following are the ten factors considered:

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Maximum Possible Points</i>
Personal integrity	25
Moral responsibility	20
Intelligence	20
Business ability	15
Civic accomplishment	10
Financial security	10
Leadership ability	10
Grasp of problems of office sought	15
Understanding of re- sponsibility of of- fice	15
Ability to get along with people	15
Total	155

A list of questions is prepared by the legal committee after consulting state and local laws governing the office sought by the candidates to be screened; these questions cover all matters which are of interest to the voters in determining which candidate is best qualified.

The screening of candidates is public and may be broadcast by radio and television. The candidate is placed under oath which, with his questions and answers, is wire-recorded and later transcribed and filed with the permanent records of CAC in the event the candidate is elected.

After the screening panel's moderator has propounded the questions formulated by the legal committee, the audience and screening panel members are given the opportunity to submit additional questions to the moderator, provided they are in writing, with the privilege reserved by the moderator to refuse to ask questions submitted which, in his opinion, are

improper, and to interject additional questions from time to time as he desires.

The candidate is *not* given an opportunity to make a speech or any statements concerning his campaign at the conclusion of the questioning. All questions submitted by the audience in writing are delivered by the chairman of the screening committee to the chairman of the investigating committee. This committee consists of several members of CAC appointed by its chairman, who may employ outside help for the purpose of making a detailed, factual report on each screened candidate.

This report is submitted in writing under seal by the chairman of the investigators to the chairman of the screening panel. He in turn reads the investigating committee's report before a closed final session of screening committee members. This is for the purpose of reconsidering the grades given candidates on factors one, two, four, six, seven and ten, after the report has been submitted and analyzed by the screening committee.

Each screener totals his score for each candidate and gives it to the chairman who places it on a large master chart on which are the names of all candidates for the office considered. The candidate receiving the highest number of points is then considered by the committee as a whole as to whether the committee will recommend the candidate for endorsement by the CAC in its report to the board of directors.

The closed session is kept secret and the recommendations are not made known to anyone until the report is read by the CAC chairman at the next meeting of the board of directors for its approval, change or rejection.

Each screener's score is known only

to himself and to the committee chairman, who keeps it in his possession when it is not in the hands of the screening committee member. The screener himself is listed on the master chart solely by a number which has been given to him by the chairman.

### Corn Flakes and Voting

If the vote cast at the forthcoming November election is not larger than it has been for many a year, the fault will not lie at the feet of citizen groups or business houses.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of the campaign instituted by the American Heritage Foundation, large business concerns are entering into the plot to get the citizen out to register and vote. For the first time in American history the package of a business concern will be devoted to a public service campaign. The Kellogg Company, of Battle Creek, Michigan, is shipping corn flakes in packages which, beyond the necessary product identification, are devoted to a nonpartisan appeal to citizens to vote on November 4.

John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, one of the largest department stores in the nation, as well as other business houses, is giving advertising space in local newspapers to a plea to get out the vote.

The Boy Scouts are joining in the good work. Just before election day, scouts all over the nation will hang Liberty Bell cutouts on the door knobs of 30,000,000 homes, urging every citizen to vote. The scouts are working in cooperation with the Freedoms Foundation. A kit from the scout national office contains newspaper mats and suggested local stories. A million get-out-the-vote posters are being placed on display.

<sup>1</sup>See "Get Out the Vote a Continuing Theme," the REVIEW, September 1952 page 419.



One city in New York State—name unknown at this writing—is planning to ring church bells and blow sirens and whistles at eight o'clock the night before registration begins. At the same time radio stations will announce that the noise is being made as "operation alarm clock" to remind citizens to register. No advance publicity is to be given to the stunt so that there will be an element of complete surprise.

The Ballot Battalion idea pops up in Michigan again. Sponsored by the Kiwanis Club, East Detroit is working on a community-wide basis to get citizens to register and vote. Efforts are also being made to assist the public in getting the views of candidates and the principles for which they stand. "Every civic-minded organization," says the East Detroit Civic League, "has been invited to cooperate in carrying out these objectives."

Latest in its series of aids to the voter, the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) is its eight-page folder, *Voting Information Compiled in the Public Interest to Help You Find the Answer to Your Voting ?'s*. Discussed are the election schedule, qualifications for voting, procedure in voting, assistance to voters, watchers and other useful facts.

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#### Manager Plan News

Some 800 citizens of Quincy, Massachusetts, attended a lively forum on the city's Plan E (council-manager with proportional representation for election of the council) government. The forum, sponsored by the Quincy Civic Association, heard the mayor, councilmen and city manager discuss local problems. Questions from the audience were made in writing. "It was good to give the issue an airing," says the Quincy *Patriot-Ledger* editorially, "and heartening indeed to find that so many persons felt it should be aired."

A new committee has been formed by the Chicago City Club "to examine, and possibly fill the need for, a center to supply information on the city manager form of government," reports the *City Club Bulletin*.

The League of Women Voters of Evanston, Illinois, has gone on record in favor of the council-manager form of government for that city. One of its local action programs this coming year will be to cooperate with other groups in support of a referendum to enable Evanston to adopt the plan.

The Citizens Committee of San Antonio, Texas, has published *San Antonio Report—A Review of the City's First Six Months under Council-manager Government*. An eight-page, tabloid-size newspaper, the report cites the great progress which took place during the period covered. "Manager Cites 6-Month Gain—Income Increased \$173,974," "Back Tax Collections Increased 136%," "\$160,920 a Year Saved for City as Dickson Cuts Engineer Costs," "Bulk Purchasing Cuts Supply Cost by 30 Per Cent," "Stronger Law Enforcement Shown in Police Department," "City's Fire Losses Slashed in 6 Months"—thus read a few of the headlines.

Looking toward an election on the question in November, the Village Manager Association of Oak Park, Illinois, has distributed a six-page folder on the council-manager plan, its advantages, how it has worked and how the voter can help.

A committee of the League of Women Voters of Boonton, New Jersey, is campaigning for adoption of the council-manager plan in November.

In Topeka, Kansas, where the manager plan is also scheduled for a November 4 vote, the Committee for City Manager Government is distributing a four-page flyer titled *Your Questions Answered*.

### Volunteers Increase

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee, in a review of its Forward Movement organization, shows the largest number of workers in charter fund campaign history. "In the general gifts section," says the committee, "17 divisions, 73 teams and 350 solicitors were recruited. In the special gifts section 14 divisions, 31 teams and 138 solicitors were recruited."

The organization will shortly circularize its members with a ballot on which they will be asked to check the committees with which they would like to work for the coming year.

### Summer Forums

The Michigan Seventh Annual Forum on State and Local Government held its sessions July 7-25 at Michigan State College, East Lansing. The forum is designed to give students and lay persons interested in government "a broad view of the major functions and problems of state and local government in Michigan." It is sponsored by several universities, state and local officials and their organizations, the State Department of Public Education and the Michigan Institute of Local Government.

A twelve-day workshop was held at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, in September, attended by teachers of government from twenty colleges and universities in New York State. Among the speakers was Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, who stressed the fact that the college graduate "has a debt to society to participate in politics and government." The forum was under the direction of Dr. Rodney L. Mott of Colgate. Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultants, were among its leaders.

### Constitutional Conventions

"After 82 years it's time to vote

YES! for a Limited Constitutional Convention," said the Tennessee Citizens Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention in its six-page flyer. And the voters evidently agreed, for the convention won by a large majority.

Ohio, on the other hand, is looking forward to a constitutional convention vote. The League of Women Voters of Ohio is distributing its brochure, "Why Ohio Can't Afford to Wait 20 Years to Go Modern," as it calls for favorable action in November. Numerous local organizations are working for the success of the convention vote. The Board of Trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League, in its statement supporting the convention, "further recommends that if there is a favorable vote in the fall, the governor of the state and the legislature should approve the appointment of a nonpartisan commission to analyze the constitution and to make a special survey and report prior to the convention as a means of focusing and expediting the work of the convention."

### New York Mayor Appraised

"An Appraisal of the Impellitteri Record" was the innocuous title appended to the address of Milton M. Bergerman, president of the Citizens Union of New York City, before that organization's 1952 annual meeting. But Mr. Bergerman's address was far from "innocuous." He declared the mayor was "driving on the wrong side of the white line and his driving bids fair to result in disaster." Says the *New York World Telegram and Sun*, in an editorial, "Timely Reminder," "Mr. Bergerman didn't deal in generalities. He went right down the line in his indictment, naming names and citing instances." Mr. Bergerman's address has been published in the May 1952 issue of *The Searchlight*. It is avail-

able free of charge from the Citizens Union, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38.

### Recent Publications

The slogan, "Know Your Government," has led to the publication of pamphlets describing local city government by various Leagues of Women Voters. *Western Springs, Our Village* (61 pages, 50 cents) comes from the Western Springs (Illinois) League of Women Voters; *Know Your City, Governmental Services in Phoenix, Arizona*, (18 pages, maps and charts, fifteen cents) is published by the Phoenix League of Women Voters.

*This is Cook County* (74 pages) comes from the Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters at Chicago. It has been prepared by Ruth E. Baker, a civics teacher at Fenger High School, Chicago, and is sold at 35 cents a copy.

Within Cook County, *Here's Homewood 1952* (48 pages, 50 cents) is published by the League of Women Voters of Homewood.

The Rhode Island Home Rule Association, which did valiant service for the cities of that state in aiding to secure passage of a home rule amendment to the constitution, has published a 51-page pamphlet describing city charters and forms of government. It sets forth model ordinances providing charter commission elections, model petitions for adoption of new charters, model nomination papers, etc. Reproduced are the new Rhode Island home rule amendment and the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island on home rule.

*Gateway to Citizenship*, by Carl B. Hyatt, director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program, has been issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U. S. Department of Justice. Its purpose is "to

assist members of the bench and bar, the staff of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and other interested workers to dignify and emphasize the importance of citizenship, particularly in relation to the ceremonies marking the culmination of the naturalization process."

"A Manual for the use of CIO councils and local union community services committees IN YOUR TOWN in developing health, welfare and recreation programs for CIO families and the local community," describes *Action for a Better Community*. Issued by the National CIO Community Services Committee, the 62-page pamphlet is priced at 25 cents.

"An informational handbook on the work, the problems and the members of the Louisiana legislature, designed especially for the citizen who, by his ignorance or his understanding, his apathy or his interest, his selfishness or his concern for the general welfare, will determine the course to be taken by the legislature," is the apt description of *Citizen's Guide to the 1952 Louisiana Legislature*. Published by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, the *Guide* describes the work of the legislature, how laws are made, the citizen's role. It makes suggestions on strengthening the legislative body and lists biographical sketches of senators and representatives. The center spread shows "Passage of a Bill . . . a Complicated Procedure" by means of attractive pen-and-ink sketches. Price of the 48-page pamphlet is 25 cents.

*Crisis in Traffic* comes from the Citizens Union of the City of New York. Prepared by the union's committee on traffic and transportation, it discusses the numerous painful traffic problems besetting the country's largest city, with suggestions for their alleviation.



## Researchers Gather, Cover Broad Field

### *Taxes, Personnel, Pensions, Schools Get Critical Review*

**A**BOUT 250 researchers, including a fair representation of wives, constituted the 1952 GRA Conference which was held at Shawnee Inn on the Delaware in Pennsylvania September 10-12. The conference opened with a luncheon address, "The Next Step," by William H. Baumer, assistant to the president of Johnson and Johnson, and closed with the annual dinner at which the GRA awards were presented and Herbert J. Miller, director of the Tax Foundation, answered the question "Are We Better Off?" with statistics indicating a negative reply to the question.

In addition to breakfast discussions of bureau problems, there were general and workshop sessions dealing with State Regulation of Local Taxing Powers, State and Local Public Pension Systems, Citizen Education Through Governmental Research, Citizen Research and Public School Education, Inter-City Comparisons—Techniques, Problems, Pitfalls, Citizen Research and Legislative Action, Problems and Techniques of Public Personnel Administration and Lessons I have Learned about Governmental Reorganization. All sessions were well attended and elicited pointed questions and lively discussion from the floor.

The following awards were granted: most noteworthy piece of research, to the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for its report on *Organization and Procedures for Performance of Financial Functions under Philadelphia's*

*Home Rule Charter*; most effective presentation, to the Citizens Research Council of Michigan for *The Case for Reorganization*. Two honorable mentions were given: to Rutgers University Bureau of Governmental Research for its *Handbook of the New Jersey State Government*, and to the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League for *The Study of the Department of Aviation, County of Allegheny*.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: president, Carlton W. Tillinghast, New Jersey Taxpayers Association; vice president, George Bestrom, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association; trustees, Howard Friend, Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; Daniel L. Kurshan, New York Citizens Budget Commission; Calvin Skinner, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Edward Staples, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey; Harland C. Stockwell, The Chicago Civic Federation. The latter acted as chairman of the conference committee.

## Research Pamphlets and Articles

### *Assessment*

**Improving Farm Building Assessment Techniques.** By F. E. Hulse, W. P. Walker and W. T. Sigafos. College Park, University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing, 1952. 23 pp.

**Kentucky Assessment Program.** By Kenneth C. Back. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League

*Tennessee Town and City*, August 1952. 4 pp.

**Second Analysis (Last) of the City of Galveston and the Galveston Independent School District — 1951 and 1952 Assessed Value — Selling Price Ratio Survey.** Houston (Texas) Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, July 1952. 27 pp.

#### **Auditing**

**What Goes on Here?** Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter*, July 28, 1952. 3 pp.

#### **Authorities**

**Public Authority — Pro and Con.** Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, August 1952. 9 pp.

#### **Budgets**

**Budget-Making and the Spiraling Cost of City Operations.** Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, August 1952. 4 pp.

**A Comparison of the Cash Basis Law and the Budget Law of Kansas with the Model Cash Basis Budget Law.** Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 54 pp.

**A Compilation of the Expenditures in Wyoming for County Governments, First Class Cities, First Class School Districts. 1952 Budget Data Sheets.** Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association. 1952. 24 pp.

**1953 Budget Suggestions.** Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1952. 35 pp.

**The 1952-1953 City Budget.** Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, (bulletin) August 1952. 3 pp.

#### **City Councils**

**How to Conduct a City Council Meeting.** Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the

Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City*, July 1952. 6 pp.

#### **County Government**

**1950 County Costs Show Upward Trend.** Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *The Iowa Taxpayer*, July 1952. 3 pp.

#### **Debt**

**City Debt.** Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments*, August 1952. 5 pp.

**Deficits Are Contagious. Today, More Than Ever, States Follow Federal Example.** New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook*, August 1952. 4 pp.

#### **Defense**

**You Are the Atom Bomb.** By Hilary H. Crawford. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), July 28, 1952. 15 pp.

#### **Education**

**Local Responsibility for School Building Needs Should Be Encouraged Over the Costly Alternatives of Federal or State Subsidies.** Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1952. 8 pp.

**School Teachers' Salaries.** Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), July 1952. 2 pp.

#### **Elections and Voting**

**1952 List of Harris County Presiding Judges and Number of Registered Voters by Precinct.** Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., 1952. 24 pp.

**Wisconsin Voting Record.** Only 3 out of 10 Potential Voters May Visit September Polls, is Alliance Estimate. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, August 1952. 5 pp.

#### **Forms of Government**

**Types of City Government.** Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter*, July 14, 1952. 4 pp.

### Home Rule

**The County Home Rule Amendment.** Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter*, August 18, 1952. 4 pp.

### Housing

**Public Housing in Waterbury.** Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs*, July 15, 1952. 3 pp.

### Industry

**Tucson as a Location for Small Industry.** By L. W. Casaday. Tucson, University of Arizona, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Business Research, 1952. 51 pp. 50 cents.

### Inflation

**The Cities Meet Inflation.** The League's Sixth Annual Review of 25 Western Pennsylvania Cities. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter*, July 1952. 20 pp.

### Intergovernmental Relations

**City-School-County Cooperation.** Utica (New York), Municipal Research Bureau, *Your City*, August 8, 1952. 3 pp.

### Legislation

**How Bills Become Laws in Texas.** By Dick Smith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1952. 28 pp. 50 cents.

### Libraries

**Three Pennsylvania Counties Join to Bring Library Services to a Large Region.** Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government, *Municipal Administration*, July 1952. 2 pp.

### Liens

**Five Years Experience under Utah's Lien Law.** Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, July 1952. 4 pp.

### Personnel

**Exempt Job Holders and Their Qualifications.** New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., August 14, 1952. 11 pp.

### Police

**Compensation and Conditions of Employment in Select Massachusetts Police Departments.** Brockton (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts*, July 11, 1952. 14 pp.

### Political Parties

**Party Organization and Nominations in Louisiana.** By Alden L. Powell and Emmett Asseff. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 21 pp.

### Public Utilities

**Proposed Gas Piping and Appliance Ordinance.** Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs*, August 23, 1952. 2 pp.

### Public Welfare

**Ending Relief Secrecy Expected to Be An Issue in 1953. Local Welfare Studies Are Worth While.** Albany 7, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State, *For Your Information*, August 14 and 21, 1952. 2 pp. each.

### Purchasing

**Possible Improvements in the County's Central Purchasing.** Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, July 10, 1952. 2 pp.

### Rent Control

**Rent Control—Good or Bad?** New Haven 10, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment*, August 22, 1952. 2 pp.

**Should Federal Rent Control Be Extended in Chicago from September 1952 to April 1953.** Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, July 1952. 6 pp.

### Salaries

**Municipal Railway Wage Problem.** San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, July 11, 1952. 1 p.

### State Aid

**Toward a Better System of State Aid.** Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, July 30, 1952. 6 pp.



### State Reorganization

**Michigan Department of Aeronautics.** (Staff Report.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 24 pp.

**Reorganizing the State Government of Minnesota.** (An analysis of the Minnesota Little Hoover report and the problem of carrying it out.) St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1952. 31 pp.

### Streets and Highways

**County Road Administration and Finance in New York.** By George D. Young. Ithaca (New York), Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Economics, February 1952. 38 pp.

**Financing and Building State Highways.** St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, May 1952. 7 pp.

**Highway Finance in New Mexico.** By Julian S. Duncan, Harold O. Staus and Katharine Nutt. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1952. 31 pp.

### Taxation and Finance

**County Revenues and Expenditures in Mississippi 1950.** By Gordon K. Bryan. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1952. 56 pp.

**Fifth Annual Report (1951 Fiscal Year) on the Taxing Units in Harris County.** Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 62 pp.

**Improving Property Tax Administration.** ("States are trying to eliminate inequities.") By William I. Herman. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review*, July 1952. 5 pp.

**Pennsylvania Tax Chart.** Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, February 1952. 6 pp.

**Real Estate Tax Sales in 1951. Unpaid Property Taxes.** Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, July 1952. 2 and 4 pp. respectively.

**Receipts of California Cities 1949-50 and 1950-51.** Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest*, July 1952. 9 pp.

**State Government Expenditures State of California. Payments by California Cities 1949-50 and 1950-51.** Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest*, August 1952. 5 and 9 pp. respectively.

**Town and City '52 Tax Rates Larger Than in Past Years.** Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government*, July 1952. 2 pp.

**Trends in State Expenditures 1940-1951.** An Analysis of State Spending during and after World War II. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1952. 30 pp.

**Twenty Years of Sales Tax Collections.** Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1952. 4 pp.

**Where Does the City Stand Financially?** St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, July 30, 1952. 4 pp.

**Wyoming Round-Up of 1952 Tax Levies.** Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, *Report*, August 1952. 25 pp.

### Water Systems

**Fluoridation: What Does it Mean to Public Health?** By Carl L. Sebelius. **Fluoridation: What Are Requirements for City Water Systems?** By J. Wiley Finney, Jr. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City*, May 1952. 4 pp.

### Zoning

**County Zoning in Illinois.** Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. 34 pp.

# Books in Review

**Roadside Protection in California. A Handbook for Local Action.** San Francisco, California Roadside Council, 1952. 68 pp.

California perhaps leads all the states in its grappling with problems connected with the modern highway. It is giving special attention to planning and building the type of highway known as the "freeway."

To the highway zoning movement the California Roadside Council makes another contribution by its *Roadside Protection in California: A Handbook for Local Action*. This is primarily designed for that state but should be of much wider service. It deserves a place beside the same organization's 1944 study, *Retroactive Zoning: The Legal Principle and Its Application*, which suggested what can be done within the law to cure the highway mistakes and omissions of the past. The pamphlet shows not only what ought to be done in and for the transportation corridor but also what has been done in certain cases. Ten photographs illustrate both current sins and proper roadside control.

Set forth is a "basic county zoning ordinance providing adequate roadside protection" by way of practical suggestion to communities interested in dealing with highway problems. This ordinance explicitly recognizes the two major classes of signs—business signs which are merely an incident of business on the premises, and are thus a part of the same land use, and outdoor advertising signs which are a separate land use and constitute a wholly different class of signs to be dealt with on wholly different principles.

Unfortunately the application of these concepts in section 15 of the proposed ordinance is not clearly carried out. In this section outdoor ad-

vertising signs are treated as an "accessory use," which they are not (although business signs are), instead of as a separate business and separate land use. This particular section should not be accepted as a model. It should be revised. The different classes and types of signs should be clearly differentiated and separately dealt with if legal and administrative difficulties are to be avoided. A few typographical errors also need attention. In Section 11.1(c) of the proposed ordinance the word "width" obviously means "area."

The pamphlet as a whole, however, will be found very useful. Its bibliography will be especially helpful to legislators and others whose study of the subject has not been intensive. To that bibliography the council's excellent 1944 study, already referred to and recently reprinted, should be added.

ALBERT S. BARD,  
*Vice Chairman and Counsel*  
National Roadside Council

**Occupational Licensing Legislation in the States.** Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1952. 106 pp. \$3.

This report presents state-by-state data on occupations licensed, legal qualifications for admission to practice in professions and trades, types of agencies that administer occupational licensing laws and arrangements for reciprocal, interstate licensing. It deals with the role of professional and trade organizations in the licensing and regulation of their own occupations. Major attention is given to the organization, powers and functions of state occupational licensing boards and the extent to which the processes of examination and licensure are subject to control by state officials other than members of these agencies. The report

includes as background a brief history of occupational organization and regulation in past centuries.

**Government by the People.** The Dynamics of American National Government. By James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xvii, 946 pp. \$7.50.

This large volume conveys in fluent and breezy fashion, with a great array of pertinent illustrations, a picture of the outdoor aspects of American politics, enriched by an astonishing collection of cases to support the observations. The objectivity of the style helps vastly to facilitate swift reading and to keep the reader entertained as he goes—a fact that should be of use in classes.

R. S. C.

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

### Authorities

**Municipal Authorities Act of 1945** (as amended). Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1952. 16 pp.

### Bonds

**Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States.** New York 4, *The Bond Buyer*, 1952. 480 pp.

### Copyright Law

**Fourth Copyright Law Symposium.** By Melville B. Nimmer, Clinton R. Ashford, Franklin Feldman, Arthur S. Katz and Charles O. Whitley. New York City, American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, 1952.

### Defense

**Jordan's Dictionary of Civil Defence** Edited by Carlton Wallace. New York 16, Philosophical Library, 1952. 160 pp. \$2.75.

### Disaster Planning

**Disaster Rehousing.** By Hubert Kelley, Jr. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August 1952. 6 pp.

### Education

**The Personnel of State Departments of Education.** By Fred F. Beach and Andrew H. Gibbs, in cooperation with the Study Commission of the National Council of Chief State School Officers. Washington 25, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 46 pp. 30 cents. (Apply United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

**Selected References on the State Department of Education.** By Fred F. Beach. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 18 pp.

### Government Manuals

**United States Government Organization Manual 1952-53.** (Revised as of July 1, 1952.) Washington 25, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division, 1952. v, 742 pp. \$1. (Apply United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

### Government Publications

**Census Bureau Publications on Government.** As Scheduled for Issuance in the Fiscal Year 1953 (July 1952-June 1953). Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 2 pp.

### Highways

**Highway Curves** (Fourth Edition). By the Late Howard Chapin Ives and Philip Kissam. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1952. xvii, 389 pp. \$7.

### Housing

**Reorganizing Chicago's Redevelopment and Housing.** A Summary of Government Organization for Redevelopment and Housing in the City of Chicago. A Report to the Committee



on Housing of the City Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 11 pp.

### **Industrial Development**

**Organizing for Industrial Development—Handbook of Procedures.** Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 20 pp. 50 cents.

### **Legislation**

**1952 Laws of Interest to New Jersey Municipalities.** (Second annual edition.) Trenton 8, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1952. 72 pp. \$1.

### **Planning**

**You and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission 1927-1952.** Riverdale, Maryland, The Commission, 1952. 36 pp. Maps, illus.

### **Population**

**Estimates of the Civilian Population of Voting Age for States November 1952. Estimates of the Population of States: July 1, 1951 and 1950.** Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 4 pp. each.

### **Presidential Election**

**Meaning of the 1952 Presidential Election.** Edited by James C. Charlesworth. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, September 1952. 252 pp. \$2.

### **Price Controls**

**The Price of Price Controls.** By Irving S. Olds. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, 1952. 10 pp.

### **Public Employment**

**State Employment in 1952.** Wash-

ington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 12 pp.

### **Public Records**

**The Disposal and Preservation of Public Records.** A supplemental report to Special Bulletin S issued July, 1944, by the Committee on Disposal and Preservation of Public Records. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1952. 16 pp. 75 cents.

### **Recreation**

**Community Recreation for Defense Workers.** New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1952. 32 pp.

### **Taxation and Finance**

**Governmental Revenue in 1951.** Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 11 pp.

**Urban Growth and Municipal Finance.** By D. C. Corbett. Montreal 2, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, 1952. 32 pp. \$2.

**Two Decades of State and Local Income Taxes.** Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, June 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

### **Technical Assistance**

**International Technical Assistance** By Walter R. Sharp. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. xi, 146 pp. \$2.50.

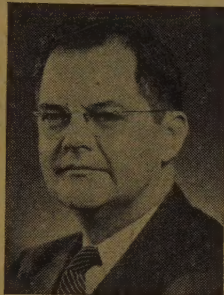
### **Traffic Safety**

**Operation Safety.** Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for November 1952: **Pedestrian Safety**. Theme for December 1952: **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variouslly paged.

# Putting the Voter in the Saddle

Several sessions of the National Conference on Government will deal with the problems of the citizen in his sovereign capacity as voter. These include one on Monday morning, "Finding Good Councilmen, which will explore ways in

which organized citizens have succeeded in finding the right candidates for local office and in conducting winning campaigns for them. Leonard J. McKeane, president, Cincinnati City



Dayton D. McKean

Quarter Committee, will preside. Tuesday morning a session on "Representative City Government" will consider the relative merits of various methods of electing city councils.

In recognition of current interest in political and governmental ethics, Dayton D. McKean, author, political scientist and practical politician, will conduct a session Wednesday morning "Elections and Political Morality" to assess the situation in the light of 1952 election history.

Another session will deal with nominating methods. Members of the League's Committee on Direct Primary and others will explore ways of making nominating procedures more effective in turning up candidates that are truly representative.

Since progress in municipal government is frequently impossible without assault on legislative barriers against freedom to act at the local level, one session will be devoted to successful campaigns for state laws for home rule, optional charters, etc.

## Some Tough Problems

Citizens and officials wrestling with such problems as suburbanitis—otherwise known as the metropolitan area headache, how to reorganize and modernize an outmoded state administration or county government or an old-fashioned court system, or what to do about chronic and increasingly serious money problems of city government, will find sessions made to their order at the Conference.

Every session includes more or less amiable controversies over best ways to achieve common goals. This will undoubtedly be true in a session in which educators and political scientists will debate the issues of integration, co-operation and independence as guiding principles in determining the proper relationship between schools and general government. There will also be controversy, as well as fresh information, in a session on "The Citizen Looks at Public Welfare Programs."

How to do it? will be answered in three sessions in which practicing experts will get together to discuss some of their problems which are also of vital interest to the general run of citizens: "The Manager and the Citizen," "Municipal Public Relations" and "Education for Better Citizenship."

## Try to Get There Sunday

Sightseeing of a richly rewarding nature in a "different" city and entertainment at the old Spanish city of La Villita await those who arrive in San Antonio by Sunday noon, November 16, the day prior to the opening of the National Conference on Government.



# Texans Change Dates to Accommodate NM

One of the factors assuring the success of the National Conference on Government in San Antonio next month is the generous action of the League of Texas Municipalities in changing the dates of its 40th annual convention to November 22-26.

NML was forced by various circumstances to pick November 17-19 for its Conference dates despite the fact that the League of Texas Municipalities, with its nine departmental organizations, had chosen overlapping dates much earlier for its convention in Dallas.

The courteous withdrawal of the Texas organization, even though many of its plans had already been made, will make it possible for municipal officials to attend the NML Conference.

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## ***Mexican Trips Interest Conference Goers***

Many of those planning to attend the National Conference on Government in San Antonio have inquired about opportunities to include short vacations in the southwest and in Mexico with the trip.

Detailed information may be obtained from travel agents, from American Airlines which has a low "fiesta fare" rate to Mexico City, and from the San Antonio office of the National Railways of Mexico.

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## ***What to Wear in San Antonio***

The weather is normally pleasant and mild in San Antonio in mid-November, with afternoon temperatures going to 75 or 80 degrees and early morning temperatures as low as 50 or 55. Evenings might be chilly, too.

Men Conference-goers are advised

that a summer suit and a medium weight suit would be useful. Those who will be going out evenings or who are planning to visit Mexico City at the Conference should take light to medium weight coats. Women would be comfortable with light weight autumn dresses and suits and light wraps.

It just possibly might rain in San Antonio; indeed, after one of the longest droughts on record, many persons in that area are hoping that it will.

There will be no Conference occasion calling for formal dress.

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## ***Technical Assistance at Home and Abroad***

An unusual conference session has been arranged on "International Aspects of Local Government." This will bring together Americans who have been on missions dealing with local government abroad and students and officials from foreign countries interested in studying local institutions here. The purpose is to consider the contributions of local democracy to unity and strength in the free world and to examine the problems involved in international exchange of experience in local affairs.

Another session will deal with the university's role in providing technical assistance for state and local governments through in-service training studies, surveys, information and counselling.

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## ***Hotel Reservations***

In making room reservations with the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio, be sure to mention the National Conference on Government. A quota of rooms has been set aside for Conference-goers.